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Changing ideas about what nuclear deterrent means

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

The Nato dispute over short-range nujclear missiles has made it clear that the task fulfilled by the nuclear deterrent is no longer understood in the Federal Republic of Germany.

It is strange what aversions have arisen to a category of weapons that has only been used once (in Hiroshima and Nagasaki), with effects and after-effects that have since ruled them out, as far as responsible politicians everywhere are concerned, as a rational means of waging war.

In Europe, which for decades was the main backdrop of the Cold War, the fact that any military clash might lead to a nuclear holocaust was the reason why *"hot war"* was not waged.

Wars have been waged elsewhere — in Asia and Africa, in the Middle East and in Latin America. They are still being waged there, whereas Europe has been spared.

How else is one to account for this fact than by the stationing of substantial stockpiles of nuclear warheads and weapons on European soil?

When experts now refer to the nuclear deterrent having forfeited its legitimation, they may in part have been motivated by what Herman Kahn called thinking about the unthinkable, i.e. nuclear war.

There has always been a pendulum swing in nuclear strategy debate, with the emphasis first on the Bomb as a "veto weapon," i.e. the weapon that rules *out the war option, and then on nuclear* warfare as a possibility.

This swing of the pendulum is reflected in the changes Nato doctrine has undergone over the years.

In the late 1950s, for instance, it was caught in a cleft stick when the Soviet Union built up a nuclear deterrent potential of its own.

Nato's strategy of massive (nuclear) retaliation in response to a Soviet (conventional) attack on Western Europe forfeited credibility.

The vulnerability of US cities to a nuclear attack by the Soviet Union left the United States with a choice between capitulation and the risk of self-destruction.

After lengthy debate within Nato the flexible response doctrine was adopted. It envisaged an intermediate phase of considered escalation, conventional and nuclear, prior to the ICBM strike.

This was an attempt to combine the war-preventing veto effect of nuclear weapons and a credible threat that they might be used in the event of war.

It was also an — inevitable — departure from "pure" deterrent teaching, with considerable after-effects.

Franz Josef Strauss, Bonn Defence Minister at the time, was strongly critical of the new US strategy.

In Bonn there was a clash between "Atlantic" and "Gaullist" viewpoints, General de Gaulle regarding the flexible response as a decoupling of the security link between Europe and the United States.

He took France out of military integration within Nato and set up a national nuclear force, France's *force de frappe*.

Its aim was, in part, to establish a smaller, national deterrent capable of dealing an aggressor an unacceptable blow.

It was also aimed at getting a finger on the American trigger by involving the United States and its intercontinental nuclear potential into a European conflict.

To this day France rejects the flexible response strategy.

The new Nato doctrine naturally prompted a reappraisal of nuclear warfare options. It began in the early 1960s when US Defence Secretary Robert McNamara commissioned a quest for damage limiting capabilities (in the event of a nuclear war).

Under Defence Secretary Schlesinger, 1973-75, greater attention was paid to limited nuclear options, with arms technology being developed accordingly.

Nuclear warheads grew smaller and carrier systems grew more accurately targetable. Both features were essential if either damage or options were to be limited.

Realistic or not, *this strategic reappraisal* by the United States definitely ran counter to European interests and the European view of nuclear weapons and their political function.

Yet if it is true that with approximate nuclear parity and mutual assured destruction the threat of a massive nuclear strike is tantamount to a suicide threat ("shoot first, die second"), there is only one way to ensure that the nuclear deterrent is effective. It is to devise realistic scenarios of feasible, graduated use

Continued on page 2



Moscow debriefing

American Secretary of State James Baker (right) with Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Brussels. Mr Baker was briefing ministers from other Nato nations about his visit to Moscow. (Photo: Wesek)

Missile debate much more than all about when to open talks

What is the difference between not yet and soon? The missile dispute would seem to be merely a matter of timing, of when to negotiate with the Russians about short-range nuclear missiles.

In reality the dispute goes deeper. How else is one to account for the two sides — America and Britain on the one, Germany on the other — so stubbornly sticking to their guns?

Diplomats experienced in drafting communiqués should have no difficulty in building a verbal bridge between "not yet" and "soon" in time for the Nato *summit at the end of the month.*

All they need to do is keep to the June 1987 Reykjavik declaration in which German interests and those of its Nato allies were so admirably combined.

Nato did justice to the German demand for an "overall concept" and included a key provision.

It was that verifiable reductions in short-range systems to equal ceilings were what Nato wanted, albeit in connection with the striking of a conventional balance.

This declaration was not only signed by Bonn; it bore clear signs of Bonn having played a leading role in framing it.

In other words, Nato had agreed to concentrate on a reduction in the historic superiority in tanks and field artillery the Warsaw Pact enjoys, a superiority that forced Nato 30 years ago to bite the bullet of nuclear deterrence.

Bonn has since parted company with this common groundwork (there can be no beating about the bush on this point), but it oughtn't to be too difficult to lay a fresh groundwork on much the same basis as its predecessor.

The Nato summit might, for instance, set up a special consultative group and instruct it to give consideration now to a negotiating concept.

Washington and Whitehall would need to tone down their "not yet," Bonn to tone down its "soon."

The United States and Britain will need to show greater readiness to appreciate the German interest in reducing the Soviet nuclear superiority that mainly threatens Central Europe.

Bonn in turn must not forget that it cannot dictate terms to America, Britain and France on how they are to protect their respective service personnel in Germany.

The "no nukes, no troops" argument may be only one aspect of psychological warfare among Nato allies, but Mr Bush and Mrs Thatcher are both dependent on voter support, which does not always coincide with the desiderata of realpolitik.

Yet in reality the problems do indeed go much deeper. One of them — and,

Continued on page 6

IN THIS ISSUE

■ INTERNATIONAL

Looking for a Western response to the changes in Eastern Europe

Much thought is currently being given in the West to the smaller countries in Eastern Europe, countries midway between the democracies and the Soviet Union.

How is the United States, how is the West to respond to the change that is sweeping Eastern Europe?

How can the West encourage and accelerate the process, and how might it jeopardise it?

US experts Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski, each of whom inspired US Ostpolitik at various times, have resurrected the old idea of the West guaranteeing the Soviet Union that it would not interfere in the Soviet sphere of influence.

That would arguably permit the Soviet leaders to view developments on their East European doorstep with greater reassurance and tolerance.

It would also make it easier for them to accept Western assistance to countries in Eastern Central and South-East Europe that form part of the East bloc.

At first glance this is a most interesting idea. But what could the West guar-



antee the Soviet Union? That it would never intervene militarily in Eastern Europe?

It never has done, not even when Hungary was maliciously invaded and insidiously subjected in an unequal battle with the Red Army.

The West even gave Moscow advance warning, before the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia, that it would do nothing if the Soviet Union intervened there.

It needn't have bothered. Mr Brezhnev well knew that Nato wouldn't do in 1968 what it had failed to do in 1956.

A Western undertaking not to intervene militarily in Eastern Europe would merely repeat the self-evident. The Soviet Union would gain nothing.

The only effect it would have would be to make smaller Warsaw Pact members wonder mistrustfully whether there was more to the statement than met the eye.

The West must on no account make further-reaching assurances. In guaranteeing political inactivity it would forgo options it must retain, such as threatening to impose sanctions on the Soviet Union to make the use of force against other East bloc countries more expensive.

It must also retain the option of urging Moscow to do something about oppression such as in Poland when Warsaw imposed martial law.

It must continue to be able to advocate freer, more democratic conditions and, above all, to espousing greater respect for human rights throughout the Soviet sphere of influence.

The West is committed to espouse all these causes by its view of man and its sense of political morality. Warnings, encouragement and demands can at times have some effect.

But the decisive winds of change in the East have never come from the West; they have invariably resulted from living conditions and living memories of the country in question.

They have often been in response to a change in Soviet policy, which exercises such a decisive influence on their living conditions.

The Hungarians did not rise up in 1956 because they had been counselled to do so by Western statesmen; neither did the Czechs and Slovaks in 1968 when they shook off Stalinism.

Today's Poles and Hungarians are not engaged in a quest for a new and better system merely on the strength of Western advice.

They have all done what they did when they did because the domestic situation was ripe for a move or for a process of finding their own identity and freeing themselves from the constraints of what they felt to be an alien system.

What the nations and states of Eastern Europe achieve will continue to be mainly the result of their own hard work.

Yet the West can make some things easier and others a little less difficult for people in Eastern Europe. It will be able to do even more once these smaller countries in Eastern Europe have progressed from the stage of uncertain autonomy to a state of full sovereignty. The West, and Western Europe especially, will then be able to lend them enormous assistance, starting in the economic sector but extending much further.

We will be able to advise them how to establish democracy and constitutional government so as to ensure both are lasting and don't harm themselves or each other.

It would also be useful if the West could, by setting a good example, show the East how to resolve conflicts with ethnic minorities, which have grown more serious in a number of East bloc countries and lie like a minefield in the way of domestic and foreign policy throughout the region.

The most important point will be for the larger European countries not to repeat the mistakes they made in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s.

Cannon fodder

Between the first and second world wars they viewed the small states of Eastern and South-East Europe solely as a means to their own more or less self-centred ends.

They saw them as a buffer, affording them protection, as cannon fodder, as suitable material for economic exploitation, political hegemony and cultural expansion.

At the end of the Second World War these countries were swapped with Stalin by the West in exchange for Soviet cooperation on other points.

German, French, Italian, British and US policy toward East Central Europe must, if it is not to be built on sand, assure our neighbours to the east of rights, opportunities and human dignity.

There must be no return to an era in which the smaller countries in Eastern Europe have to do as they are told by others.

Johann Georg Reissmüller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 May 1989)

Preparing for Gorbachov's visit to Bonn

Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher are preparing for the visit to Bonn by the Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachov, at a time when they have their work cut out handling the missile dispute with their Nato allies America and Britain.

The advance visit by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze is aimed at adding the finishing touches to a joint declaration that will be the result of both Herr Kohl's visit to Moscow last year and Mr Gorbachov's forthcoming visit to Bonn.

Now that Bonn has declared itself to be loyal to Nato but sovereign on the missiles issue this joint declaration seems sure to be read and analysed through an electron microscope in both East and West.

It is intended to clarify the prospects for German-Soviet cooperation in the foreseeable future within the framework of East-West ties and how they develop.

If Bonn and Moscow attach importance to substantial results, and they seem to do so, the declaration will need to shed more light on the shape European ties are to take after the end of cold war and confrontation than the mere concept of a European house.

What is more, Berlin must be accommodated by both sides as a bridge, not as a stumbling block.

To believe Moscow might now attempt to drive a wedge between Bonn and its allies is to underestimate the Soviet leader.

The Soviet Union is keen to ensure that its security interests are heeded in Eastern Europe and accepts America's interest in maintaining a military presence in Western Europe.

The signs are that pressure will not be exerted on Bonn. The very positioning of Mr Gorbachov's visit speaks for itself. It will be immediately after a visit to London and before a visit to Paris.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 11 May 1989)

Continued from page 1

of nuclear weapons — not to use them in fact but to ensure that they never are used.

So-called nuclear options are the paradoxical consequence of war-prevention strategy in a situation in which the superpowers' intercontinental deterrent capacities cancel each other out.

What might make sense logically need not be easy to stomach psychologically. Once the experts start to think about how feasible nuclear options are, it is hardly surprising that the general public starts to feel that a nuclear war might one day be waged.

General de Gaulle's decision to set up a national deterrent capability was the result of a different problem.

It would, he argued, be in the United States' interest to regionalise a potential conflict in Europe, i.e. to limit it to Europe.

Western Europe, in contrast, must be interested in globalising any potential conflict in the Old World, thereby involving the US deterrent from the outset.

This is the much-vaunted transatlantic coupling, as symbolised and demonstrated by the stationing of both US service personnel and US nuclear weapons in Europe.

The strategic policy purpose of Nato medium-range missiles (cruise and Pershing 2s) was to ensure that US weapons which were at Nato's disposal could pose a threat to Soviet territory by being based in Europe.

That reinforced the credibility of both the deterrent and the linkage of risks between America and Western Europe.

This is the context in which the short-range missile dispute must be seen. Alongside sea- and airborne nuclear weapons under the command of Saceur, Nato's Supreme Allied Commander Europe, these missiles are, in the wake of the INF Treaty, the only remaining land-based transatlantic deterrent link.

There can be no doubt that these missiles, like all nuclear weapons, have a war-preventing, veto effect. But there can also be no doubt that they have operational functions within the framework of defence strategy in Central Europe.

Besides, by virtue of their limited range they have an even more powerful deterrent effect than nuclear weapons in general.

The one, strategic function does not contradict the other, political function: the role of nuclear weapons in first and foremost preventing war.

Short-range missiles maintain the transatlantic strategic link, but the psychological burdens imposed by the nuclear deterrent are variously distributed.

That accounts for most of the differences between the allies: between, roughly speaking, America and Britain on the one hand and the continental Europeans on the other, with France as a nuclear power being in an exceptional position.

To concentrate exclusively on strategic considerations is to forget that psychology is an important factor in international affairs.

What people think is what is politically real and effective, and this means views held about both friends and foes.

The worst consequence of the missile dispute would be for Nato countries to split politically, leading eventually to what Wolfram Hanrieder, an expert on transatlantic ties, recently described as:

"America appearing increasingly unpredictable in the Federal Republic and the Federal Republic appearing increasingly unreliable as a partner to the United States."

Günther Nonnenmacher

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, ... May 1989)

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■ EUROPE 1992

Monetary union: its causes and effects

Apart from their Christian names, Chancellor Helmut Kohl and his predecessor, Helmut Schmidt, have little in common. But there is one other thing that does bind them: both are staunch Europeans.

Helmut Schmidt has once more come out in favour of the creation of European monetary union, as has Helmut Kohl.

Through the CDU party secretary, Heiner Geissler, Kohl has let it be known that he wants to be "the chancellor for European unity."

Unfortunately, this much longed-for European economic and monetary union is still an extraordinarily problematic venture. Anyone who has doubts about that has only to read the Delors Committee report on economic and monetary union within the European Community.

The paper spells out precisely a three-stage plan for monetary union, but wisely avoids making any reference to a time plan. Too well the writers of the paper remember how wretchedly the Europeans foundered in their first approach 20 years ago.

The Werner Report of 1970 wanted to see economic and monetary union within the space of ten years — this was a utopian goal, as everyone now knows.

There is no doubt that the European Community has made considerable progress in the meantime. The European Monetary System was created at the end of the 1970s and has withstood the tests placed on it astonishingly well. By the end of 1992 the single European market will be in place.

But none of these successes mark a breakthrough to the road for economic and monetary union. This union, as the Delors Committee emphasised, means "far more than a single European market programme and calls for clear steps in all sectors of economic decision-making."

The Delors Committee describes unequivocally where these "clear steps" would have to lead if there should be economic and monetary union.

Monetary union involves total convertability of the currency as well as a complete liberalisation of capital transfer; but above all it would mean a total link of exchange rates (without fluctuation margins).

It is obvious from this that the way is then cleared for a "European central bank" and a joint European currency.

Economic union involves not only a common market but also common competition, structural and regional policies, but above all things a coordination of economic policy, linked to binding regulations governing budgetary policy — and there's the rub.

The question arises if all those who are influencing public opinion with their glowing convictions for Europe and for an economic and monetary union, are aware of the consequences of such a far-reaching economic connection.

It would mean that the governments of the member-states of the European Community must abandon their sovereignty, at least in economic affairs, and place themselves in the hands of European institutions.

The consequences, as Britain's Chancellor of the Excheque, Nigel Lawson, rightly said, would be a political union like the United States of America and the end of the nation state. For this reason the British reject the idea of economic and monetary union.

The British government has not been impressed by the Delors Commission, which to calm fears stated that after the realisation of an economic and monetary union the Community would continue to be made up "of individual nations with differing economic, social, cultural and political characteristics," and that individual member-states would retain a certain degree of autonomy in their economic decisions.

The remaining part of the report shows, however, that this "certain degree" only involved a very indefinite residue of national independence in the vital area of politics.

West German politicians do not appear to give prime importance to the sovereignty question. What is important in the Federal Republic is that economic and monetary union is committed to the goal of price stability, which the Delors report makes quite clear.

However, this does not eliminate the disadvantages which further standardisation would bring with it, before the advantages were perceptible in the Federal Republic.

In any community the rich must support the poor. That is valid, as the considerable West German contribution to the EC budget makes clear, even today.

But beyond that there is the question whether the high living standards in the Federal Republic could be maintained. Increasing financial obligations for the Community could make it necessary to cut welfare benefits.

In addition it is uncertain whether there will be enough cash left over to support structurally weak regions of the Federal Republic, when more money would have to be pumped into the underdeveloped southern regions of Europe.

New pressures are building up in wage policies because consideration

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must be given to the low wage levels paid in Portugal or Spain (where good cars are also produced).

If a European central bank had to increase interest rates considerably to combat inflation, when it was only necessary in the Federal Republic, the West German economy would suffer more than really necessary from this.

That is not all. The Delors Committee has come out in favour of a strengthening of the market mechanism but West German guardians of the market economy are astonished at what other countries comprehend as market mechanism.

From this background it is superfluous to draw attention to the effects of European integration on taxation to illustrate the inevitable consequences.

The path to European economic and monetary union is paved with many German contributions and sacrifices. The inevitable renunciation of sovereignty will be expensive. Anyone who is enthusiastic for Europe and advocates the creation of economic and monetary union, should not be silent about this.

This does not mean that further economic union in Europe would only bring with it disadvantages. On the contrary: the sacrifice is a good investment in a better future. It is an important respon-

Continued on page 7

Fear that advantages will go to highly populated areas

When Frankfurt city councillors get enthusiastic about the advantages of the single Europe market which comes into effect in 1992, their colleagues in Fulda, Emden and the cities along the north German coastline listen with mixed feelings.

They cannot call themselves "Europe's gateway to the world," or "The desk of Europe," as can Frankfurt.

Communities on the periphery of the single market fear that when the single European market is in place they will be put at further disadvantage.

This anxiety is not unfounded, as was conceded at the German Cities Conference. The conference report admitted there were widely held views that the market would favour major centres of industry, high-technology and population. That included south England, north-west Europe, eastern France, south-western Germany and northern Italy.

The single European market does not mean just the dismantling of bureaucratic hurdles. Hans-Georg Lange, a councillor of the cities conference, said: "Communities will in future be assessed for aid on Community averages."

The EC regional funds were looked at afresh with this proviso at the beginning of March.

Cash from Brussels will be given mainly to the structurally weak regions in southern Europe. Only those regions in the Federal Republic which are going through industrial reorganisation, or those regions which until now have lived from agriculture, can hope for aid.

As far as the Commission is concerned these criteria apply not only to Bremen, Saarbrücken, Saarlouis, Emden, the self-governing cities of the Ruhr such as Duisburg and Oberhausen, but to several districts in southern Bavaria.

Rated by these standards certain regions in Lower Saxony, until now favourably treated, will no long get EC support.

Bonn's arrangements to promote the economy of border regions will also be cut or considerably reduced. These areas are relatively at a disadvantage and in need of development compared with other regions in the Federal Republic, but they are considerably better off than regions in Italy's Mezzogiorno or Portugal.

In the view of the cities conference this is hard for those concerned but a justified consequence. The conference president, Herbert Schmalstieg, does not like to hear moaning about the plight of peripheral regions. He points out that Europe is not just the single market.

Cities such as Hanover, whose mayor he is, and Fulda will benefit from the opening of Eastern Europe towards the West.

In any event, he said, the cities must make a contribution themselves. Fulda has problems, but economic promotion is given top priority by the mayor, Wolfgang Hamberger (CDU).

Officials in Fulda are sceptical about contacts with neighbouring East Germany, and the Fulda chamber of commerce and industry still speaks of "the burden of the inner German frontier."

Officials in Fulda are insisting on an "eastern" approach to improve relations.

Hamberger and leaders of local industry prefer to keep their attention focused on the single European market.

Other cities at present are having to learn that there are not only advantages

Frankfurter Rundschau

to be had from a single European market.

In Emden, for instance, Volkswagen provides thousands of jobs. Mayor Alwin Brinkmann said: "Without Volkswagen we would already be in the poorhouse."

VW executives in Emden have given assurances that the plant will continue to operate there. But with concentration on one industry Emden is in a wobbly position.

It would be catastrophic for the city-port if there were the slightest cutback in production and a reduction in jobs which would be an unavoidable consequence.

It is not easy to break out of this dilemma, especially as Emden has concentrated on another project which is highlighting another consequence of the single European market: bitter competition between cities.

Emden has stood up for the construction of the Dollart port complex for some time so as to create another area for job creation alongside Volkswagen.

This notion has met with little approval among other city ports. Bremen's mayor, Klaus Wedemeier, said: "That is an alternative which will not attract new cargo, but will only reduce the profits of Bremen's port operating company."

Wedemeier's fears have been groundless in fact, becaue the Dollart port project will probably never be built out of environmental protection considerations.

But this has not eliminated Bremen's problems. Rotterdam has attracted away a large proportion of Bremen's freight revenue over the past few years.

There are also likely to be problems with the merger of Daimler and MBB, which will mean that there will be one executive controlling 20,000 jobs. Wedemeier complained that Bremen had not been consulted in any way.

The location factor has become a true matter for feuding among the cities in the Ruhr.

A Canadian concern wants to build a gigantic leisure and shopping centre in Oberhausen. This is an awkward situation for the city councillors for thousands of jobs have been lost with the decline of heavy industry. The Canadian project would involve the creation of about 18,000 jobs.

But neighbouring Duisburg is bitterly opposed to this project, which would "drive the retail trade in the city and the surroundings right into the ground."

Duisburg's mayor, Josef Klings, is aware of the concern officials in Oberhausen have, but he warns about the consequences for the whole of the Ruhr.

He said: "We know all about what monostructure involves and we don't want to experience that again."

He has greater hopes in the construction of the free port. He said: "We are at the centre of European inland waterways."

Over the next few years DM400m will be invested in it and there is to be closer cooperation with Rotterdam. With this, Duisburg however, attacks Hamburg and Bremen in the rear.

Christine Skowronowski

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 April 1989)

40 years ago

Bonn, 1949: Konrad Adenauer made his way to the rostrum and said: "For us Germans this is the first happy day since 1933."

After tough negotations with the western allies and the premiers of the *Länder*, the Parliamentary Council (Adenauer was its president) had convened finally reached agreement on the wording of Basic Law, a new German constitution.

On 8 May, 1949, exactly four years after the German surrender, Basic Law was adopted by the plenum by 53 votes to 12.

Six of the eight CSU deputies and six deputies of the smaller groupings — Deutsche Partei (DP), Zentrum and the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD) — voted against.

Following the Letter of Approval by the Military Governors four days later the third democratic constitution in German history following the 1849 and the Weimer constitutions was promulgated on 23 May.

The 65 "authors of the constitution" with full voting rights (61 men and 4 women), of which only three are still alive today, originally hoped to fulfil their task within just a few weeks in the former assembly hall at Bonn's Pädagogische Akademie.

In the end it took eight months.

The total cost far exceeded original expectations. The host region of North Rhine-Westphalia began by providing DM312,000; the final costs amounted to DM2.8m.

The regional government in Düsseldorf had to pester the governments of the other *Länder* for years to get their respective shares of these costs.

The premiers of the *Länder* took much more care to make sure that they got their fair share of the distribution of tax revenue.

A fierce dispute over the future revenue apportionment between the Federal Government and the *Länder* (*Finanzausgleich*), in which the military governors also intervened, almost led to a breakdown of consultations during the final phase.

Pressed for time agreement was finally reached. It was called the "miracle of the Parliamentary Council".

With the exception of turnover tax the revenue of the major fiscal charges found its way into the treasuries of the *Länder* and a divided fiscal administration was introduced.

In return the heads of the *Länder* had to do some horsetrading with their powers in the Bundesrat, the upper house of government.

The rights of objection of the Bundesrat, for example, were reduced to a minimum.

Right up until the final vote agreement was not reached on the future electoral law.

It was adopted two days later, on 10 May, against the votes of the CDU/CSU representatives, who wanted a majority vote system modelled on the British system.

In a subsequent vote the motion forwarded by the Christian Democrats and the FDP for a plebiscite on the new constitution was defeated.

Joachim Schucht

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 6 May 1989)

■ **PERSPECTIVE**

The birth of a constitution and a blueprint for a new beginning

The author, Professor Hans H. Klein, is a Federal Constitutional Court judge.

The 40th anniversary of the promulgation of the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany would normally justify unreserved jubilation.

The fact that this anniversary coincides with the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the "second" German state mars the occasion.

Unfortunately, the blessings of the democratic constitutional state Basic Law created are not shared by all Germans.

Those who were unable to help elaborate the Basic Law still live — with the exception of the population of the Saarland — under a regime of servitude.

Nevertheless, there is legitimate cause for joy: Against the background of German history, in particular during the 20th century, the 40-year existence of a free German democracy means that it is now taken for granted.

Irrespective of a number of disquieting developments recently the West German state and its constitution attest to a commendable stability in this anniversary year.

Both the diagnosis and the prognosis can be fairly described as favourable.

The occasion calls to mind a series of other events of historical significance, all of which are closely connected with our subject matter:

- — The year 1949 also witnessed the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (Nato).

In the prologue to the Nato treaty the contracting parties show that they are "determined to guarantee the freedom, the common heritage and the civilisation of its peoples on the basis of the principles of democracy, the freedom of the individual and the rule of law".

The alliance deserves a great deal of the credit for a forty-year period of peace in Europe and the preservation of liberty in Western Europe.

- — In 1939 Europe drifted into the hell of war — a war which was also the result of the initial retreat of democracies in the face of the brutal aggressiveness of a Nazi dictatorship which understood how to ensure the backing of the Communist dictatorship of the Soviet Union.

The abominable crimes perpetrated by the Communists and the Nazis spurred on the idea of human rights which eventually led to the establishment of the United Nations and its Declaration of Human Rights.

- — In 1919 the Weimar constitution emerged from military defeat and revolution as the first effective Reich constitution to contain an extensive list of human rights. This constitution was able to pick up the thread of the
- — Reich constitution drawn up by the National Assembly in Frankfurt's Paulskirche in 1849.

This attempt to introduce a legally binding framework for the "basic rights of the German people", however, failed.

The Court of the Reich envisaged in this constitution was empowered to pass judgement on complaints by German citizens on the grounds of a violation of the rights guaranteed by the constitution.

The Paulskirche, therefore, deliberately sought to continue the tradition rooted in the

- — Declaration of Human and Civil Rights adopted by the French National Assembly in 1789, and even more clearly in the Anglo-American legal tradition, as reflected in
- — the first Amendment to the Constitution of the United States in 1789 and, one hundred years before,
- — in the English Bill of Rights in 1689, and
- — in the Habeas Corpus Act in 1679.

The legitimatory basis of the state constituted by the Basic Law is twofold.

On the one hand, there is the concept of democratic freedom: "All authority of the state emanates from the people" (Article 20, paragraph 2, sentence 1 Basic Law).

This is complemented by the concept of freedom safeguarded by basic rights.

In marked dissociation from any form of totalitarianism the Basic Law guarantees personal and political freedom and seeks precautions against their misuse.

It declares that a person's human dignity is inviolable and makes it a commitment for all authority of state to respect and protect this dignity.

The state exists in the interests of human beings, not vice versa.

In the constitutional state the primacy of law prevails, in a totalitarian state the primacy of the dogma declared by the respectively ruling hierarchy to be binding.

On the one hand, the individual as such is cut off from the powers of disposition of the state; on the other, it is subject to arbitrary disposition.

In order to protect human dignity the Basic Law acknowledges that inviolable and inalienable human rights form the basis of any human community, of peace and of justice throughout the world (Article 1, paragraph 2).

The guarantee of human rights as an indispensable prerequisite for peace and



justice — the authors of the constitution formulated an insight in this respect which was already reflected in the French Declaration of Human and Civil Rights in 1789.

The declaration of intent is not enough. With great resolution the authority of the state in all its manifestations, as legislative, executive and judicial power, is bound to the basic rights and the constitution as a whole.

The efficacy of this move is lastingly ensured, above all, through a comprehensive legal protection safeguard, a broadly ramified system of independent jurisdiction, and a Constitutional Court equipped with extensive powers, to which any citizen can appeal if it feels that its basic rights have been violated by the state.

The power of the bearer of the authority of state is divested of its sovereignty.

As opposed to the situation in the days of the Weimar Republic, the the binding nature of basic rights for the legislator cannot be contested on the basis of the Basic Law. This is beyond all doubt.

In this respect the constitution follows the example set by the United States of America: comprehensive binding of all authority of the state to basic rights and the sanctioning of that authority by a consitutional judiciary equipped with necessary powers.

The democratic constitutional state and only this polity — somehow manages to give the community the power it needs to fulfil its numerous tasks in a modern industrial society, while at the same time organising the situation in such a way that this power is not abused to encroach upon or even eliminate this freedom.

For the sake of maintaining internal peace as a necessary precondition for the existence of freedom the democratic constitutional state holds the monopoly of legitimate exercise of power — although there are signs of erosion in this field.

However, in awareness of the d[illegible] of such a monopoly the state subje[illegible] self to a commitment to the rule of law.

Political power is only afforded for a limited period.

There are wide-ranging mechanisms of control, an extensive system of "checks and balances", in which the political position, the political parties, the professional associations, the courts, the [illegible] offices, the press, the broadcasting [illegible] and, last but not least, the individual citizens are assigned important functions.

The Basic Law formulates the basic rights as on the whole succinctly circumscribed and directly applicable legal prescripts without any bombast.

The basic rights are not only declarations of programmatic intent. They [illegible] any popular catechistic form intended [illegible] edification.

Judicial practice has ensured during the first four decades of the Basic Law's history that there is a general awareness of the law in everyday life and that its provisions are not viewed as some unattainable ideal.

On the whole, the public order in the Federal Republic of Germany is a living order grounded in basic rights.

The basic rights are guaranteed by the state, are directed against the state, and its is the same state which vouches for their effectiveness.

There is no reform which could be admired more than the monpolisation of legitimate power by the state and its control by the institutions of the democratic constitutional state, first and foremost the basic rights.

Peace and freedom only exist if there is justice. Justice only deserves the name if it is not merely a coercive order, but sets the autonomous individual as its yardstick.

Apart from a few exceptions, there are no social basic rights in the Basic Law.

Not because the fact that legal freedom alone does not guarantee true freedom was perhaps overlooked in the spirit of early capitalistic liberalism in 1949.

In order to be able to develop the opportunity of freedom opened up to them by the basic rights the individual must have a minimum amount of material goods.

The Basic Law takes this into account by urging the state to act with a "social conscience" on the basis of the principle of the social welfare state. Not only to relieve dire need, but also to bring about social justice in society.

Political decision-makers are entrusted with the task of determining the necessary extent of the redistribution of wealth in such a way that the energies released by the guarantee of basic liberties can develop, efficiency and the [illegible]

Continued on page 5

Continued from page 4

achieve are justly rewarded, and social injustice does not lead to a lack of freedom. The decision not to include basic social rights, on the other hand, is justified in two respects.

First, they are necessarily subject to the proviso of the financially feasible.

They remain promises, whose non-fulfilment infringes upon the authority of the constitution in its entirety.

Second, basic social rights and classical civil rights and liberties are basically incompatible: the right to work rules out the freedom of occupational choice; the right to study requires the rationing of university/college places and thus eliminates the freedom of choosing one's place of study.

Constitutional law has to decide whether to give priority to the freedom of the individual or to his claims against the state — an equal guarantee for both is impossible.

Experience shows that wherever the state has given legal priority to the social commitments both freedom and social justice suffer.

The democratic constitutional state moves in the other direction: It guarantee the freedom of the individual, increases the chances of economic prosperity of the community, and thus creates the means of establishing social justice.

Particularly in view of the considerable extent of freedom guaranteed by the democratic constitutional state this state needs the loyalty of its citizens.

It relies on their participation, their voluntary involvement in community affairs, and, finally, their law-abidingness.

Its existence is always awkward and threatened, since it cannot generally enforce the preconditions for its survival, only in exceptional cases.

The basic freedom of conscience, for example, guaranteed by the constitution without any express reservation, shows just how much the constitutional state relies on the civic spirit of its citizens: it entrusts the compliance with its rules to the conscience of the individual.

It not only respects the decision of the conscience because of tolerance, but guarantees it as a subjective right.

In doing so it presupposes the fundamental law-abidingness of its citizens, regardless of whether this stems from the conviction of the correctness of the law or from the realisation that the stability of a legal order is a necessary precondition for the peacefulness of social life and for the protection of the weak against the strong.

Goethe once said that he would prefer to suffer an injustice than to suffer disorder.

He knew that disorder means the end of all justice.

The rights of the citizens are merely the reverse side of their only partly norm-regulated and only partly norm-regulatable obligations.

In a state based on the principle of liberty the manner in which citizens develops their individual leanings and interests is only outwardly and formally, and furthermore selectively, limited by laws.

Their liberty is subject is subject to a prohibitional rather than authorisational proviso, and the scope of the prohibitional proviso is limited.

It is important to emphasise that the democratic constitutional state can only survive on the firm foundation of developed political ethics.

Apart from the opportunity of personal liberty each individual citizen must has civic rights and duties.

The human rights grounding of the basic rights guaranteed by the constitution set its sights on peace and justice throughout the world.

This is not a call for overzealousness and arrogance. The world has little reason to believe that it could recover with a dose of the German character of all characters.

Der Parlamentarische Rat hat das vorstehende Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland in öffentlicher Sitzung am 8. Mai des Jahres Eintausendneunhundertneunundvierzig mit dreiundfünfzig gegen zwölf Stimmen beschlossen. Zu Urkunde dessen haben sämtliche Mitglieder des Parlamentarischen Rates die vorliegende Urschrift des Grundgesetzes eigenhändig unterzeichnet.

BONN AM RHEIN, den 23. Mai des Jahres Eintausendneunhundertneunundvierzig.

PRÄSIDENT DES PARLAMENTARISCHEN RATES

I. VIZEPRÄSIDENT DES PARLAMENTARISCHEN RATES

II. VIZEPRÄSIDENT DES PARLAMENTARISCHEN RATES



Sealed. Konrad Adenauer, President of the Parliamentary Council, signs the Basic Law document in 1949. (Photo: Keystone)

Anyone in Germany who goes so far as to lecture those from whom we first had to learn about the meaning and significance of democratic constitutionality causes embarrassment and offence.

The recollection of the international dimension of human rights and basic liberties reflects a twofold commitment, two sides of the *raison d'état* of the Federal Republic of Germany.

One side attempts to use all the peaceful means available to also enable a life in freedom for those Germans who have been denied this much longer than half a century.

"The entire German people is called upon to achieve the unity and freedom of Germany in free self-determination."

Furthermore, the reference to the idea of human rights underlying all statehood places Germany irrevocably in the community of free peoples.

It is the basis and necessary precondition for its existence as a free democracy.

The Federal Republic of Germany, therefore, is at the same time a part and a motor of the movement which tried to achieve a breakthrough for human rights throughout the world following the second world war.

The universal power developed by the idea of human rights owes its existence to the momentum of this movement.

It is impossible in this article to list the stages, successes and failures of this development.

One of its major successes is that no country which values its reputation — nationally and internationally — can dare to openly stand in the way of the idea of basic rights.

This often takes place, however, in a less obvious way.

The struggle is no longer for the recognition of basic rights, but for the nature of their content.

The question in dispute is whether basic rights guarantee subjective or objective liberty, whether they guarantee the individual the right of individual self-determination, to responsible action within the limits of compatibility with community norms or whether they assign an obligation status on the basis of the assumption that an individual can only achieve true freedom if its individual action complies with the interests of the community to which it belongs.

It is obvious that these diametrically opposed interpretations of basic rights also conceal contrasting concepts of the nature of human beings.

On the one hand, there is the concept of the human being as an intellectual and moral personality, endowed a priori with certain rights which must be respected by the state; on the other hand, we find the assumption that, in the words of Karl Marx (Feuerbach theses) the human being is "not an abstract concept inherent to each specific individual", but "the ensemble of social conditions."

The prevailing principle in the Communist interpretation of basic rights, the unity of rights and obligations, follows from this premise.

Insisting on one's rights against the state is then viewed as a reflection of a lack of or an insufficient social consciousness and leads to the application of state sanctions to remedy matters.

Objective freedom is socialised freedom, it is not autonomous but heteronomous.

Freedom is then no more that "approval of the objective necessity" (Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde), the content of which is defined bindingly by respective rulers.

Despite a number of relaxations recently the doctrine of the Communist states still clings to this point of departure.

One of its most relentless forms at present in Islamic fundamentalism.

The western, especially the West German, basic rights theory has also occasionally shown itself to be ideology-prone.

The — basically totalitarian — temptation to define in the interests of the state what can serve the individual in the realisation of his designation is ubiquitous.

The discussion on the introduction of private broadcasting in the Federal Republic of Germany and hence on the significance of the basic right of broadcasting freedom has provided numerous examples and allowed observers to occasionally see the depths of the problem.

The functionalisation of liberty in the interests of allegedly higher purposes, however, inevitably leads to a lack of liberty.

For the democratic constitutional state remaining aware of the difference between these two rival conceptions of freedom is a question of survival.

It must take care not to yield to the totalitarian temptation.

As this temptation initially counts on the convenience of human beings and preys on their fear of responsibility it is dangerous.

The objective theory of freedom radically questions the democratic constitutional state and human rights. It is hostile to the constitutional state.

The phenomenon of hostility is, even though many people dislike the claim, a basic phenomenon of the political.

Anyone who denies hostility where it exists is on the way to self-abandonment, soon reaching the "point of no return".

Hostility must not be created or even reciprocated, but it should not be ignored or concealed.

The objective dispute over the correct understanding of human rights, a dispute which cannot be reconciled arbitrarily or by compromise, decides the fate of the world between freedom and the lack of freedom.

There is no cause for pessimism. The Communist — or more generally: the collectivist — conception of freedom and human rights is incompatible with the manner of its recognition under international law.

The international agreements on civil and political rights and on economic, social and cultural rights, to which Warsaw Pact states have also acceded, are based on the "recognition of the dignity inherent to all members of the human community and on the equality and inalienability of their rights" as well as on the "realisation that these rights derive from the dignity inherent to man" (preamble).

They oblige the signatory states to create freedoms in and through their legal systems, free from the access of government.

The course of the CSCE process and the signs of movement in the Soviet sphere of power are encouraging and stimulate the forces of freedom. They do not, admittedly, allow a decline in one's own effort to realise freedom.

Progress is the fruit of untiring insistence on the realisation of human rights, not of the resigned and convenient search for compromises.

The policies of states may be forced to opt for the latter for tactical considerations, but they should never lose sight of the ultimate goal or remain silent.

The situation differs for each individual and non-governmental organisation. They must be set the task of pointing out the violation of human rights wherever it occurs, without ideological blinkers and without showing political consideration.

The Germans would be well-advised to concentrate on those parts of their Fatherland, whose inhabitants, Germans just like them, are subjected to the suppression of their human rights day in, day out.

The general prohibition of intervention under international law, the target of repeated protest by those states guilty of regular violations of human rights, only binds states, and only in accordance with legal norms of equal rank and of a special kind which define the extent of the *domaine réservée* protected by the intervention prohibition.

Human rights form the basis of any community, of peace and of justice throughout the world. The respect of these rights at a national level is the prerequisite for our ability to pursue peacable policies.

Those who approve this realisation, which has grown out of historical experience, will have to admit that it also applies to others. It follows that only the worldwide realisation of human rights will be able to guarantee peace in the long run.

Without it the absence of war may be realisable for a limited period, provided the mutual threat potential develops its deterrent effect.

Peace is more than this. It guarantees human beings their rights and thus their dignity.

Conflicts will always flare up between people. Yet the recognition and realisation of human rights make it possible to resolve them without the use of violence.

Perhaps this perspective is not just a mere utopian dream. Not at any rate if mankind acts with this goal in mind.

Hans H. Klein

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 April 1989)

■ THE WORKFORCE

Grass-roots criticism of way trade union confederation is making economies

At the Düsseldorf head office of the DGB, Germany's 7.8-million-member trades union confederation, Alfred Emerich from Freudenstadt in the Black Forest is in disgrace.

He is a DGB district official who has merely done what union secretaries as a rule advise workers who are dissatisfied with what their employers have in mind to do: *to speak out in protest.*

He and active unionists in Freudenstadt have launched a petition in protest at the DGB's plans to economise by closing smaller branch offices.

Emerich and his colleagues are by no means alone in their anger about what they feel is cavalier treatment by head office.

Many union officials and office-holders at the grass roots of the trade union movement take a dim view of the structural reform concept the national executive was due to discuss early this month. But few risk standing up and being counted.

The very name the proposals have been given irks members. Critics say that if the DGB has to economise it should say so and not make the cuts out to be a structural reform.

Over the next five years the DGB plans to save DM12m in all, with the cuts hitting rural regions hardest.

Their budget is to be cut by DM5.5m, those of the *Land*, or Federal state, units by DM2.5m and that of the Düsseldorf head office by DM2.7m.

The aim of these economies is to reduce the high proportion of the DGB's budget that goes toward wage costs. They currently account for roughly 64 per cent of an annual budget totalling about DM220m.

If the WSI, the DGB's research wing, is included (it figures as overheads, or non-personnel costs, in the accounts), wage costs account for roughly 70 per cent of the DGB's budget.

In the medium term this proportion must, it is argued, be reduced to 60 per cent.

This is to disregard a much more serious problem: earnings. Membership may have increased by 40,000 to 7.8 million last year, but membership receipts have not increased accordingly.

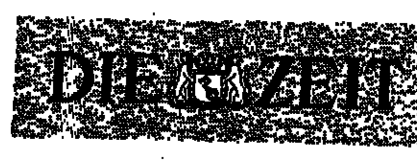
The Neue Heimat affair (the ailing trade union-owned housing corporation the unions have had to bail out) has taken its toll of union reserves; the growing numbers of unemployed, pensioners and part-time workers who pay lower union dues have for years made their mark on revenue.

Most of the 16 industrial unions affiliated to the DGB have already economised or are planning to cut costs, especially manpower costs and, inevitably, the services provided for members.

The DGB, which is financed by member-unions, is in no position not to follow suit. Grassroots critics see the need to economise, but many of them argue that the proposals as tabled merely show that head office has no idea what it is doing.

The first move, one critic says, ought to have to take stock of the present situation. Only then could there be any clear idea of what the DGB needed to do. Instead, head office is said to have put the cart before the horse.

Such protests have not gone unnoticed. The working party that drew up



the first proposals last autumn were told to go back to the drawing board.

The measures they first proposed included DM8m in economies to be made by the DGB's 214 local branches. These cuts have since been reduced to DM5,5m.

The people who stand to be affected by these swingeing cuts were not alone in voicing disgust at this clean sweep. Social scientists argued that this withdrawal from the geographical counterpart to the shopfloor was a dangerous move.

In rural areas, they argued, trade union organisation is thin on the ground already.

In 13 per cent of the DGB's 214 local administrative areas only the DGB, and not one of its member-unions, has a local office.

In a further 13 per cent only one of the 16 member-unions has a branch office.

Yet these are areas with a substantial membership potential in small and medium-sized firms. Besides, the branch secretaries fulfil important functions.

They are the point of contact for workers who need advice. They are indispensable aides in countrywide campaigns. Above all, they keep up invaluable contacts with local mayors and councillors.

The revised version of the proposed cuts envisages about 40, as against 60, DGB branch secretaries being sacked. The regions are left to decide which branches are to be axed.

Yet there are to be no dismissals. Given the age of many union officials, that should prove no problem. Natural wastage should do the trick as officials reach retirement age and aren't replaced.

The gaps they leave behind are to be plugged in makeshift fashion by voluntary staff. Full-time officials are to be replaced by trade union activists who are prepared to work for the union alongside a normal job.

Social scientist Oskar Negt feels this idea could work well. Volunteers may give branch offices a fresh lease of life, transforming them from administrative facilities to communication centres.

He makes no mention of day-to-day contacts with full-time DGB officials, presumably taking them to be a matter of course. Yet the structural reform will leave many areas bereft of full-time DGB staff.

Problems that seem likely to hit head office are also unsolved. The number of national executive members employed in a managerial capacity is to be reduced from nine to seven, for instance.

That ought to result in a saving of roughly DM800,000 a year, including secretaries, drivers and so on. But this economy seems likely to shake the party-political allocation of top jobs.

Two of the nine have always been Christian Democrats. They are, at present, Irmgard Blättel and Gustav Fehrenbach. Both will retire next year, as will Social Democrats Ernst Breit and Gerd Muhr.

So the time would seem ripe for a reshuffle. Yet that is easier said than done. A seven-member management board would still have to include two Christian Democrats, one preferably a woman. That would mean electing the new DGB general secretary from the existing or, should one say, remaining ranks of SPD board members.

They include Jochen Richert, currently in charge of white-collar workers and new technologies. He is a likely candidate. But the favourite is Hans-Werner Meyer, the miners' leader.

This problem will probably prove intractable, insiders say, that an eq... member is the likeliest outcome.

Despite all these cuts there are still a few sectors in which economies are envisaged. An additional DM2.25m a year is to be invested in modern equipment, mainly word processors and data processing systems.

Roughly DM1m more a year is spent on in-house training for full-time officials, plus DM1.5m on training staff.

Their work has grown increasingly important in recent years. A decision on WSI and Ruhr Festival cuts is to be reached before the summer recess.

Yet many officials feel the DGB will not be in fighting trim to face future ... "The debate that ought to have been ... hasn't taken place," one critic says.

Member-unions and the DGB ... to have taken the opportunity of discussing division of labour among themselves. The highest savings potential ... in the many areas where all 16 member unions *and* the DGB are active.

Why, for instance, does each union need its own economic affairs department, its own welfare department ... own computer system?

But these, the critic argues, are ... tions that jeopardise established ... bases, so they are studiously avoided.

Erika Martens

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 3 May ...)

Continued from page 1

again, there can be no beating about the bush — is that German foreign policy has forfeited much of its fund of goodwill in Western capitals of late.

You can't say one thing yesterday and do something else tomorrow without sowing seeds of doubt and distrust.

What leader-writers in Washington, London and Paris are tapping into their keyboards (and it ranges from "German megalomania" via "Gorbomania" to "betrayal of the West") testifies less to reality than to deep-seated fears.

These fears have long taken root in the corridors of power, and especially where least is being said: in Paris.

Differences of viewpoint on sensible ideas, such as scrapping short-range missiles, give way to suspicion of motives, such as: "What do the Germans *really* want? Denuclearisation and then the dissolution of Nato?"

While in the Federal Republic leader-writers wonder whether the others want to transform Central Europe into a nuclear test ground.

Both questions are in reality ... The West Germans have no intention of cutting their links with the W... while the Americans and the Britons have not the least intention of sacrificing half a million service personnel and their families to a neatly encircled nuclear holocaust.

Level-headedness is the first commandment. It would be tragic if we were to build up in the West the very ... concepts we are systematically abolishing in the East.

A level-headed approach is all the more necessary in view of the fact that the road to disarmament will be long and tricky, as Field-Marshal Akhromeyev, Mr Gorbachov's military adviser, has just reminded us.

The Soviet Union, he says, has no intention of scrapping its twelvefold superiority in short-range missiles — unless, that is, Nato dispenses with its purported superiority in aircraft capable of delivering nuclear weapons.

He says Nato has 1,300 more strategic bombers than the Warsaw Pact ... to says the Warsaw Pact has 2,000 more than the West does.

Such disputes over figures ... underline the self-evident fact that, though the Cold War may be over, the great powers and their respective interests remain.

They also demonstrate where the problems lie, even with the best will in the world. As long as the two sides have not even agreed on criteria for quantifying existing arms and manpower, a ... ty freeing Europe from its military burden is not going to be ready for signing overnight.

Just like Ostpolitik, disarmament policy calls for staying power, and ... and its allies would be well advised to have greater confidence in each other and be less suspicious.

Josef ...

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 10 May ...)

■ THE ECONOMY

Oil-price rises plus domestic factors help give inflation a boost

Inflation has suddenly raised its ugly head again. Consumer prices rose by three per cent in April compared with April 1988; in March the rise was 2.7 per cent over the same month last year; and in both January and February, 2.6 per cent.

There has not been a consumer price increase as high as three per cent since 1984.

The experts are alarmed not so much at the amount of the increase itself so much as at its rate.

In 1986 inflation fell (in a year-to-year comparison) by 0.2 per cent. In 1987 it increased by 0.2 per cent: the following year by 1.2 per cent and this year it will be three per cent.

The Institute for Economic Research, Essen, has warned of an expanding, extensive trend and the Hamburg-based Institute for Economic Research fears a recurrence of the chain effect: inflation, restrictions, recession.

The state has made its contribution to inflation. Increases in various general taxes on consumption and prescription charges, introduced at the beginning of the year, pushed up the index 0.7 per cent.

The postal service has not been squeamish either. Charges for letters and parcels have gone up. So have charges for local telephone calls.

Local government has increased charges for waste disposal, street cleaning and sewage disposal.

Yet all these only partly explain the three per cent. More significant is that oil prices are again bubbling up. Opec has obviously got its act together and the production quotas for its member-states are being adhered to.

The results have been painful. Oil prices have shot up at a meteoric rate. In March prices were 40 per cent up on March last year.

The times of cheap oil are past, and motorists are being made aware of this when they fill up with expensive petrol.

The prices of imported industrial products are also on the climb. In February they were up 9.3 per cent on prices 12 months before.

The times are also past when a dollar exchange rate of DM1.60 attracted cheap imports into the Federal Republic. The dollar is again rising — current-



ly to almost DM1.90 — and that means that our imports will be dearer.

In March import prices were already up 7.2 per cent over a one-year period as compared with 5.9 per cent for both January and February.

The over-valued mark has protected West German consumers for a long time from price increases in foreign goods and services.

In the past few months the mark has sharply dropped in value. The result is that price increases abroad are hitting the goods in West German shopping baskets, according to the Institute for the German Economy, Cologne. The mark has ceased to play its price-braking role.

Then the five leading economic research institutes state in their spring report that indirectly withholding tax has driven prices up.

Capital is fleeing abroad, a course of events which has forced down the mark exchange rate.

It is very questionable whether, with the abolition of withholding tax, capital will return and influence the exchange rate in a reverse direction.

Investors are nervous people. The constant zig-zag course of this government is a risk for them.

Domestic factors have also caused prices in the booming economy to take off into the blue. Production capacities are being utilised to the full. There is no more leeway.

In manufacturing indutries, for instance, 90 per cent of capacities are being used, as good as at the beginning of the 1970s — the consequence of the lack of investment in the Federal Republic over the years.

Manufacturers make use of this situation to push up prices. Frequently they are forced to do this, because they can only expand production at high cost — through high-paid over-time, for instance.

It is not surprising then that between March 1988 and March 1989 prices in the German chemicals industry rose by five per cent, prices for iron and steel went up by 7.5 per cent, steel for building constructions by 40 per cent and for rolled wire by 21 per cent.

Rents also increased. This was affected by the marked decline in homebuilding over the past few years and demand that increased just as markedly: children born during the years of a high birth rate are now coming on the market looking for homes, and the considerable numbers of emigrés who have entered the country are seeking accommodation. State support programmes will just push up the trend.

At the end of March 1989 rents were 3.4 per cent higher than they were a year ago. Recently there has been an increase in home investment, but it takes time for this to work through and affect rents.

The high utilisation of capacities makes it difficult "to keep wages stable. Under such conditions moderate wage increases are overtaken by actual wages, as the increasing wage drift shows," according to the Bonn-based savers protection association.

This all adds up to the fact that the risks for prices have increased considerably, risks which are coming from outside and within the economy.

Obviously the ample money supply creates ideal conditions for this stimulation to inflation. In the last three years *the money supply has exceeded growth* potential by a long way.

A spokesman for the savers association said that "what was conceived as a support for economic activity is now showing itself as a threat to price stability and in the future will have a boomerang effect on the economy itself."

The latest Bundesbank price adjustments were, then, overdue. Four times in the past few months the Bundesbank has increased the discount and Lombard rates to make commercial banks' borrowing more difficult, making credit more expensive and braking the increase in money in circulation which is potentially inflationary.

At the same time such increases in interest rates strengthen the deutschemark against other currencies which has the effect of curbing prices on many imports.

The Bundesbank has available an extremely effective instrument for throttling back demand and so influencing prices by controlling interest rates.

The trades unions' accusation that the Bundesbank, by increasing interest rates, impedes the course of the economy and paves the way for increased unemployment, is absurd.

The Bundesbank is responsible for ensuring the currency is stable, economic trends are much more the concern of the employers/employed, primarily the trades unions. They determine decisively the tempo at which wage costs will increase.

In view of the full utilisation of capacities economic policy reservations have become redundant.

It is old socialist superstition that stable prices are obtained by few people in work, or put the other way round unemployment can only be countered by more inflation.

Former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt made the dreadful comment: "Rather five per cent inflation than five per cent unemployment." In the end he had more than five per cent of both.

There is plenty of material to illustrate the growth of the number in employment over the past few years. Since 1982 the number of people in employment has increased by more than a million. On balance, mark you, that means that the jobs lost by rationalisation are hidden in this figure.

The goal of stability and employment do not cancel each other out. A stable currency makes moderate wage settlements possible. The trades unions must no longer battle for compensation for high price-increase rates. A revival of the unholy battle about share-outs should be avoided at all costs.

The Bundesbank does not feel itself obliged to follow more restrictive money policies. The bank could hold interest rates down, making credits cheap.

Cheap credit means more investment and more employment — this is also evidence that price stability and high employment do not cancel one another out.

This is all threatened when inflation gets moving again. It could happen that this year the worker would have to sustain a drop in income, particularly in branches in which a long-term wage agreement has been concluded.

No-one is prepared to prophecy that then there would not be discussion about a supplementary wage settlement, which would just put the wage spiral in motion.

The three per cent price rise for 1989, predicted by the five major economic institutes, is all the more significant as this figure already takes into consideration various price-curbing influences, for instance price stability in foodstuffs or the expected restraint among householders in purchasing heating oil — due to the mild winter people have plentiful supplies in stock.

What is the outlook for inflation next year? Much depends on interest rate developments in the US.

If they go up, so will the dollar and the deutschemark will drop, so that our imports again become expensive, if the Bundesbank does not pit itself against this development by higher interest rates.

A considered monetary, economic and wage policy could hold price increases at manageable levels.

Heinrich Reiker

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 5 May 1989)

Continued from page 3

sibility for politicians to make this understood and they are confronted by such a responsponsibility before the European elections. Voters want to known what they are letting themselves in for.

It is also essential to explain the side effects of the European union process because it is almost impossible to halt it now.

As things appear now a European central bank and a common Euopean currency, the Ecu, is on the distant horizon. Sometime we shall have them.

The old saying is applicable here: the man who travels slowly also gets to his goal. Too much hurry is only damaging.

Klaus Hofmeier

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 5 May 1989)

Lots of ifs and buts lingering over company tax changes

There are still questions to be answered about corporation tax reform, planned to be introduced by the government at the beginning of the next legislative period.

According to a report from the Ifo Institute for Economic Research, Munich, it is not known how much relief will be offered and whether reductions in one quarter will be met by tax increases elsewhere or reductions in subsidies.

According to the Munich institute should a shortfall in tax revenues make it necessary to increase value-added tax (VAT) then it would be difficult to push the reform through.

Possibly corporation tax reform will be linked to further income tax reforms. This would also be necessary if there were a significant drop in corporation tax, so that the gap in top tax rates would not become too great.

In a pilot calculation the Ifo Institute has proposed a standard rate of corporation tax for retained and distributed profits of 36 per cent, in place of two rates of 56 per cent (from 1990 this would be 50 per cent) and 36 per cent.

The same effect would be achieved with the profits tax burden, if it were linked to a system of investment promotion with immediate depreciation advantages.

An operating tax, by which corporations as well as sole proprietorships and partnerships would be taxed, has shown itself to be complicated and would make necessary any number of interventions in the existing tax system.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 8 May 1989)

■ MOTORING

European makers 'driving in the wrong direction'



Traffic chaos, says outgoing board chairman Daniel Goeudevert of Ford of Cologne, is leading to the "self-destruction of the motor car." Cars need an overall traffic system that stays on the move.

The traffic dilemma caused by the motor car reduces the automobile to an immobile object that has forfeited mobility as an attribute.

Then there is environmental pollution, to which the catalytic converter is but the second-best solution. The best is zero fuel consumption.

So the answer would seem to be a small electric-powered city car, which is what M. Goeudevert has in mind.

A city car with a roomy interior for a wide range of uses takes up little road space, is environment-friendly and is particularly well-suited for short hops in local traffic.

M. Goeudevert also feels that cars made by European manufacturers are becoming too expensive for more and more people.

In the long term European carmakers will have to develop a new "Volkswagen" that sells for less than DM15,000.

"The industry has embarked on a trend in which fine cars are made but an entire category of car-buyers will no longer be able to afford them," he says.

The average retail price of a mid-market family saloon is DM28,000, which is the annual take-home earnings of about six German households in 10.

Individual car-buyers are increasingly debt-ridden. Car sales may be steadily increasing, but M. Goeudevert attributes this to the growth of leasing:

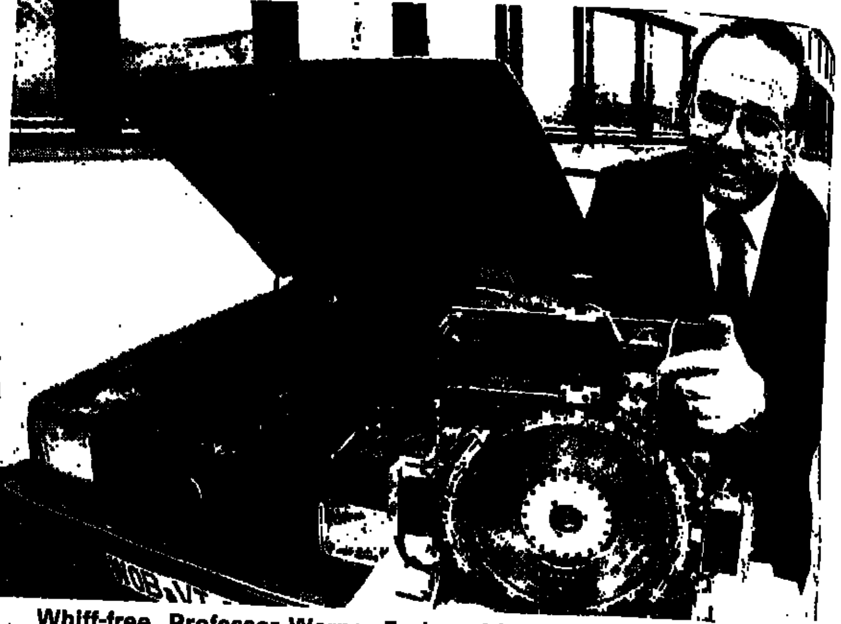
"About 20 years ago fewer than 10 per cent of new cars were leased; the proportion today is over 60 per cent."

It would be better for the image of European carmakers to make a genuine car for the masses than to continue with the current trend toward building increasingly powerful and efficient models.

The difficulty is that every manufacturer feels he must include up-market models in his product range. If European carmakers fail to meet the demand for a low-cost compact, the Japanese will fill the vacuum today, the Koreans tomorrow and, arguably, the Russians the day after.

Manufacturers of low-cost models are attracting first-time buyers, most of whom will keep to their first make, who as matters stand is no longer a European manufacturer.

In Denmark, for instance, the Lada, imported from the Soviet Union, is the best-selling car.



Whiff-free. Professor Werner Freise with the motor his team produced (Ph...

The future of the European motor industry is in exports to the Third World. German carmakers may sell 60 per cent of their production abroad, but nine out of 10 export models are sold in Europe, where sales are fast reaching saturation level.

The European motor industry's annual surplus capacity is two to three million cars, so new markets, such as India or China, are badly needed.

But cars made in Europe, with their sophisticated technology, are unsuited for these parts of the world. "The cars we sell in Africa or India must be absolutely reliable models that can be repaired with a hammer and screwdriver," M. Goeudevert says.

The future status of the motor car in transport as a whole will, he feels, depend on how the car is integrated in the transport network.

"We already know that traffic is becoming chaotic in some sectors. Yet there is no serious discussion of how the problem could be solved.

"In the debate we studiously avoid the root cause of the problem: the motor car. The car is somehow or other sacrosanct.

"In reality," he adds, "we motorists are partly responsible for finding a solution to the traffic dilemma. Unless the overall transport system is kept on the move the car itself will be caught like a fly in a cobweb.

"The system will only work for as long as the automobile stays mobile. Once it is no longer able to move, the car will have wrought its own destruction."

An environment-friendly electric-powered city car might be the answer. "A city car isn't necessarily a low-cost car," he says.

"What it is is a model designed to stay on the move in a limited area, travelling short distances in densely-populated districts full of people, of children at play, where noise is a serious problem."

The environment-friendly car, he feels, is a car that doesn't run on petrol. "And a car fitted with a catalytic converter uses more fuel if its performance is to be maintained."

The better solution would have been to work less keenly and drastically on reducing fuel consumption. Given sufficient R & D investment, 1.7- to 1.8-litre engines can definitely be designed that do well over 60 miles per gallon.

That, he says, ought to be the trend. There is no better solution to atmospheric pollution than to use less fuel. That is better than designing any number of filters.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 6 May 1989)

High claims [...] 'clean' engi[ne]

Kaiserslautern University re[...] scientists have designed and [...] environment-friendly car that does as many miles to the gallon as a [...]tional family car in city traffic and [...] cent more on the open road.

It saves fuel by running on the [...] principle. You only need to pedal [...] this case, put your foot down on the [...]erator) to gain speed; otherwise the [...] runs under its own steam, as it were.

"We have given the engine [...] tests," says electrical engineer [...] Freise, who is in charge of the pr[...] could be ready for series produ[...] four years' time."

The motorist senses little or noth[...] the new technology. The only chang[e ...] notices is that when he takes his foo[t ...] the accelerator the engine is automati[...] separated by a flywheel from an e[...] clutch — and switched off.

The flywheel keeps on running and [...] immediately restart the engine when p[...]sure is applied to the accelerator and [...] clutch is let in.

The flywheel is powered by an electr[...]ic motor that is the crux of Profe[ssor] Freise's brainchild. It takes the place [of ...] conventional starter motor and dyna[mo].

The extra clutch can noiselessly [...] the engine on and off within a few [...]sands of a second — during which [...] any extra toxins are emitted.

Leading companies have shown [...] interest in the idea. Siemens and V[olks]wagen have taken part in the experim[ents].

The new motor, was first installed [...] VW Jetta diesel five years ago. A[...] ratings were recorded in 60,000k[...] Fuel consumption is halved in [...] in which the diesel engine is a[...] switched on and off up to 10 times a mi[...]nute.

On country roads the fuel saving o[...] conventional Jetta diesel was up to 4[...] cent. Only at high speeds on the aut[...] is the saving less significant.

The new engine system is cheap [...] a few hundred marks more than a co[...]tional motor.

Kaiserslautern engineers have no[...]vised, a further improvement: an e[...]ment-friendly hybrid that is partl[...]ered by an electric motor, cutting c[...]tre exhaust fumes and vehicle noise[...].

Yet leading carmakers have yet to [...] interest. "The engine will probably [...]terest them," Professor Freise says [...] fuel costs well over DM1.50 a litre o[...] are choking in smog."

Thomas M[...]

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 5 M[ay 1989])

■ ENERGY

Solar power shows it's not just a lot of hot air

Out with atomic energy and in with solar power? Can that be one of the consequences of the decision by Veba, the German power conglomerate, to pull out of the proposed Wackersdorf nuclear fuel reprocessing plant project?

It could well be the case for the Wackersdorf site, where a solar cell factory may be built in the processing plant's place; the slogan may also stand for a new overall power supply concept.

Despite years of half-hearted promotion of research into renewable energy resources, harnessing solar power is no longer a utopian concept even in the Federal Republic of Germany, which is hardly blessed with non-stop sunshine.

A demonstration, or pilot, project near Koblenz dispenses almost entirely with government research grants. It can stand as an example of current trials in the solar sector.

The Moselle valley has always been one of the more sunsoakedd regions of Germany, as wine-lovers have always appreciatively acknowledged.

Sunshine is the reason why technicians have now discovered the picturesque vine-clad slopes. The largest solar power station in Europe straddles a hilltop near Kobern-Gondorf, overlooking the steep slopes of a south-facing vineyard.

It is a demonstration project generating solar power for the public grid and is aimed at enabling comparisons to be drawn on international solar cell technology development.

Economy of operation is not the main consideration, says Herbert Krämer, director of Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE), the operator. Kobern-Gondorf may never run at a profit.

What RWE has in mind is testing various kinds of solar cells, arrays and inverters.

The company has invested DM13m in this photovoltaic research project near Koblenz.

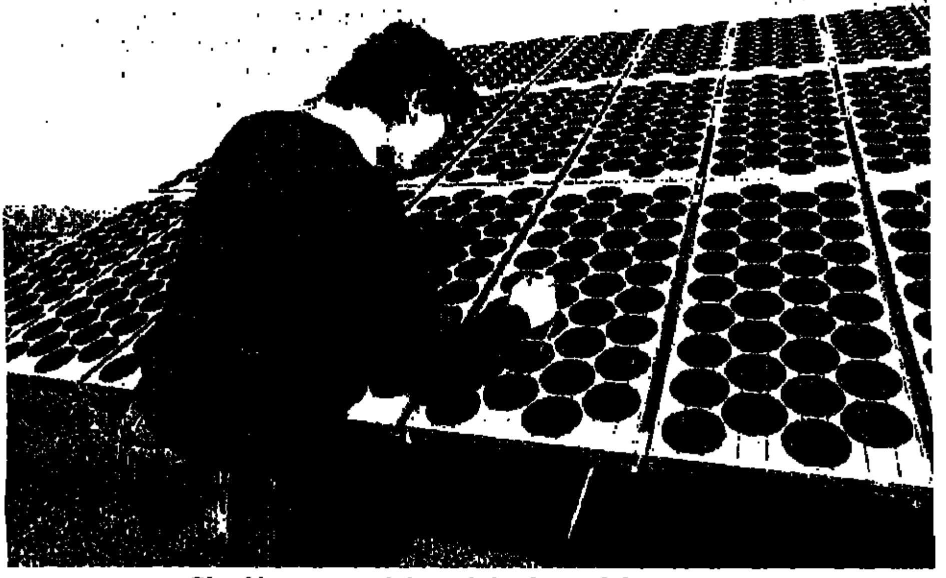
It comprises nearly 7,800 solar modules on a five-hectare (12.5-acre) site. In summer, in peak sunshine, its peak output is 340 kilowatts.

This power passes through an inverter that transforms it into standard three-phase current and is then fed via a transformer into a 20-kilovolt RWE high-tension wire grid.

RWE technicians estimate, on the basis of mean meteorological data supplied by the Met Office in Trier, annual output to to roughly 250,000 kilowatt-hours, three quarters generated between April and September.

The peak output of 340 kilowatts must not, says mathematician Ulrich Beyer, the project manager at Kobern-Gondorf, be taken as installed capacity. "It will only be reached on a handful of sunny days a year," he says.

Mean annual output is said to correspond to the power needs of roughly 50 to 60 German households — which isn't much.



Checking out a vision of the future? Solar cells.

(Photo: Unkel)

Yet RWE aim mainly to gain experience in planning, constructing and running plant of this kind and to compare the performance of solar cells currently available.

Long-term trials are to be conducted of 10 different kinds manufactured in the United States, Japan, France and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Beyer says the highest degree of efficiency, 15 per cent, is reached by a Japanese manufacturer's solar cells made of monocrystalline silicium.

They are said to be superior to other monocrystalline cells because their silicium is spiked with alien atoms, which is a precondition of photovoltaics, by means of ion bombardment.

Monocrystalline silicium spiked with alien atoms by means of diffusion is less efficient, he says.

There will also be long-term tests of solar cells made of multicrystalline silicium, which are less efficient but less expensive to manufacture.

Charge loss occurring on the edge of multicrystalline cell crystals can be kept to a minimum by means of hydrogen, resulting, Beyer says, in efficiency of between 10 and 11 per cent.

He foresees a "plethora of problems" with amorphous silicium cells produced by vapour-metallising extremely thin layers of silicium on to a carrier material. One-micrometre layers naturally use less silicium, meaning cells cost less to manufacture.

Beyer says the degree of efficiency of amorphous silicium cells declines during their first hours and days in use, later improving again.

That is why three types of amorphous cell are to be tested for long-term stability at the Kobern-Gondorf plant. At present cells of this kind are less than six-per-cent efficient.

Long-term trials are also to be conducted with strip-drawn monocrystalline cells from the United States.

They too have a very thin silicium coating, about 150 micrometres, and an efficiency of 11.5 per cent.

Experiments are also to be conducted with US-made tandem cells based on amorphous silicium.

Four of the 10 solar cell categories that are to undergo long-term trials are US-made, two from Japan and three from the Federal Republic of Germany.

A further new cell type designed and made in the Federal Republic is to join them. Technicians at Nukem, an RWE subsidiary in Hanau, near Frankfurt, are working on it.

In laboratory trials it was found to achieve a 15-per-cent degree of efficiency. The technicians refer to it as a metal-isolator semiconductor. The electric field needed to generate the power results from the combination of a three-layer "sandwich" consisting of metal, the isolator and the semiconuctor.

The expensive diffusion process to spike the silicium is unnecessary, the cells relying on vapour-metallisation.

"This new type of solar cell has yet to be used anywhere in the world," Beyer says. "It will hopefully lead to less expensive solar cells combining ease of manufacture and high efficiency."

Not only solar cells of various kinds are to be put through their paces at Kobern-Gondorf. So are different arrays, such as trestles, lattices and tables, all of which have been subjected to wind speeds of up to 200kph (125mph) in wind tunnels tests.

Incidentally, the modules, which are arranged at an angle of 30 degrees from the perpendicular and 20 degrees west of south, are designed to remain fully operational in winter when sunlight shines at a wider angle.

The power station will be run fully automatically from RWE's Essen head doffice.

The aim of comparing various types of solar cell and array made it easier to raise project funds, Beyer says.

The Rhineland-Palatinate is footing 10 per cent of the bill, the Federal Research and Technology Ministry none — despite having been prepared to meet 25 per cent of construction costs.

But RWE would in return have had to meet a wide range of requirements, such as using only German products.

By buying on international markets RWE cut costs and was able to manage without Ministry grants, says Bernd Stoy, RWE director in charge of energy applications and development.

In an interview with *bild der wissenschaft* he said RWE and its subsidiaries would thus now be entitled to exclusive use of any findings it reached.

RWE, he says, aims to be associated with similar projects in Europe and overseas as a competent partner.

Group executives are confident the main market for solar power products will, in the medium term, be in sunsplashed Third World countries once costs have been further cut.

In these countries, the project manager says, an installation like the one at the confluence of the Mosel and the Rhine could meet the electric power needs of between 2,000 and 3,000 people, or many more than in Germany.

In remote areas solar power is already less expensive than, say, diesel generators in both villages and isolated farms.

Hans Joachim Wolter

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 5 May 1989)

■ MUSIC

Karajan: talent for business as well

Herbert von Karajan, 81, appointed conductor-for-life of the Berlin Philharmonic in 1955, has resigned on the grounds of poor health and continuing disagreements with the West Berlin Senate about his contract. The orchestra has only had four permanent conductors since it was founded in 1882. Karajan's term was characterised not only by his artistic ability but also by his commercial talent.

Herbert von Karajan's resignation from the Berlin Philharmonic was as spectacular as his tempestuous relationship with the orchestra, which has lasted 51 years.

When he first conducted the orchestra in Berlin on 8 April 1938 his performance created a sensation. He was 30 and a relatively unknown conductor from Aachen who created a furore with his interpretations of Mozart, Ravel and Brahms.

He was immediately invited to give more concerts with the orchestra. Later he confessed: "From the very first I wanted to be the chief conductor of this ensemble."

He had to wait almost 20 years before he achieved his ambition. Not until 24 April 1956 did Senator Joachim Tiburtius and Herbert von Karajan sign the contract which made Karajan conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic for life. The negotiations with Karajan lasted a long time, for Karajan stood rock-hard on his demand for a contract for life as artistic director. This was an eerie arrangement for the authorities in Berlin and it is certain now that no such commitment will be made to his successor in the divided city. From the time he made his début with the orchestra until the contract was signed his contacts with the orchestra were never broken.



It's matter of discipline, says von Karajan. (Photo: Sven Simon)

In the same year that his concert with the Philharmonic sent musical Berlin into a frenzy he sent opera fans into ecstasies. In the autumn of 1938 he produced Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* at the Staatsoper.

The critic van der Null created the headline which has since then been quoted hundreds of times in books and essays: "The Karajan wonder."

He was equally praised for his musical direction of the Gustaf Gründgen's production of *The Magic Flute*.

The triumphs of the hot-head Karajan did not go unnoticed by Wilhelm Furtwängler, the then chief conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic.

He sneered at the public and press enthusiasm for the young musician from Salzburg. Furtwängler's dislike is on record long after his death. He recommended with considerable gravity that Karl Münchinger of the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra should be his successor.

But Furtwängler's opposition apart there were other matters which made Karajan's path to the head of the Philharmonic difficult.

At the end of the war Karajan, a member of the Nazi party and a protégé of the Nazis, had found refuge in a hotel in Milan and after his meteoric career he suffered a considerable set-back.

To get round the ban on his conducting (up to October 1947) he gave concerts in London and made recordings with the newly-established Philharmonia Orchestra.

When he was able to get his foot in the door again in Vienna he began pressing for his appointment in Berlin from both sides.

Karajan could wait. Berlin, a destroyed and divided city, no longer had the cultural status it used to hold.

He made his first contacts with Berlin in 1950 and in 1952 he began discussions about the chief conductor appointment.

In 1953 he conducted "his orchestra" for the first time after the war in the Titania-Palast. The programme included once more Mozart and Brahms, but also Bela Bartok. Again he was given a tumultuous reception.

After Furtwängler's death the orchestra voted unanimously for Karajan to be the new chief conductor. There were also demands for him to conduct the orchestra on a tour of America, underwritten by the Bonn government, made by people from Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to the last musician. When he was officially appointed he accepted "with a thousand thanks."

The story of the rise of the Berlin Philharmonic under Karajan to be one of the leading orchestras in the world is well known and the authorities know that they have him to thank for this.

They have profited from his artistic genius and his keen business sense. They have sunned themselves in his fame as musical director and media manager. He was hailed as "chief conductor of Europe," "Pontifex Maximus of the musical theatre" and internationally as maestro assoluto. He became a symbol of great music.

Of all the élite orchestras he has conducted he loved the Berlin Philharmonic most of all.

When he was asked to define the difference between the Vienna and Berlin orchestras he replied quite spontaneously: "If I were to say that the musicians ought to put their right foot ten centimetres forward, the Berlin musi-

Continued on page 15

A virtuoso violinist mixes glamour with the genius

When violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter, bare-shouldered, strides purposefully forward onto the stage, you can feel the audience holding its breath.

Frau Mutter, 25, is on a two-month tour of the US and Canada, her longest and most important tour of North America.

She has been an international star since she performed with Herbert von Karajan at the age of 13. Two years later she made her début in New York with Zubin Mehta and the New York Philharmonic.

Since then managers in the music world have realised that she can fill concert halls. On the classical music market sensations are quickly things of the past. If a true musician develops from a child prodigy that is almost yet another wonder.

Due to new teaching methods there are more technically perfect soloists today than there has ever been.

Only a few reach international class, which Anne-Sophie Mutter has apparently done effortlessly.

Precise planning is concealed behind this apparent effortlessness. It is not enough that "genius and glamour are brought together in Frau Mutter," as Newsweek magazine put it, full of admiration for her vigorous virtuosity.

Douglas Sheldon, her personal manager for North and South America and the Far East, considers his star's career more objectively. He said: "My task is to create a following here in North America, which is prepared to remain loyal to her for always."

Sheldon works for the New York agency Columbia Artists Management Inc. To achieve his goal he has drawn up a three-year plan.

Her tour last year included 14 solo concerts in 18 days. It was according to this plan and went off successfully.

Sheldon has given West Germany's glamorous violinist more time this year for her guest appearances.

Since April she has been appearing with the top orchestras and conductors in North America, in each case in two or three evening concerts following on one another.

She has appeared in Boston, for example, with Seiji Ozawa, in Chicago with Sir George Solti and in Cleveland with Christoph von Dohnanyi. Sheldon said that each of the performances were at subscription concerts.

Frau Mutter makes no secret of the fact that she would have preferred a solo tour. Subscribers go to concerts no matter what, even if the star of the evening does not please them.

That is, however, a vital element in Sheldon's tactics. He said: "We want to win over this public as potential audiences for our concert tour next year." This also implies attracting purchasers for her recordings.

An annual return to the same cities where she has performed before is an important component of Sheldon's strategy. Of course it also follows that the repertoire has to be carefully agreed.

Last year her programme included Tartini, Beethoven and Ravel: this year her programme includes Mendelssohn, Stravinsky and Witold Lutoslawski.

Sheldon commented: "With Anne-Sophie Mutter we can allow ourselves the luxury of selecting any piece of music. She has already mastered all the important works at 25 and even more recordings of them."

The undisputed high point of the tour for artists of international class is an obligatory concert in New York's Carnegie Hall.

"New York influences an artist's career more than any other city in the world," Sheldon said. "New York is the venue where the artist, as nowhere else, must measure up to competition of absolute top international rank."

In a single week in Manhattan's musical life during the season there are between 40 and 50 classical music concerts.

Rightly or wrongly, the reputation of a demanding public and the most influential critics are linked to the legendary names such as Carnegie Hall or the Metropolitan Opera. More important: New York is *the* city for the music business.

The most important music agencies in the world, in all about 150, have offices within a stone's throw of Carnegie Hall.

Some are small, such as Frank Salomon Associates, which has only ten people under contract; others are giants such as Columbia Artists Management with more than 1,000 under contract.

Here careers are started off, others and sometimes ruined.

There is more to a music manager's job usually than just concluding contracts, negotiating fees and booking concert appearances. Sometimes a manager has to have the talents of a nurse and psychologist, best friend or sharpest critic.

Apart from Frau Mutter and Pinchas Zukerman, Peter Zimmermann, Douglas Sheldon also has the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra under contract.

He said about his job: "In the world of classical music one is dealing with talent. It is my duty to create an atmosphere, in which my artists can give their best. And to ensure that they remain financially healthy."

Undoubtedly the financial aspect is the most important. Sheldon again: "A musician wants to be successful but also be business-minded."

Most talented musicians are not prepared "to operate their one-man business," as Sheldon put it. Usually it is

Continued on page 15

On tour in America... Anne-Sophie Mutter.

■ FILM

Short-film festival awakes from a long slumber

Only two of the film-makers who put their names to the Oberhausen Manifesto of 1962, which changed the course of the German Film, turned up for the 35th Oberhausen Short-film Festival.

Ebba Jahn sat on the international jury and Wim Wenders came to open the touring exhibition devoted to his work entitled "Schauplätze."

They played truant from school to go to see short-films and Wim Wenders recalls that he only went to the cinema in his youth to see a specific short-film.

The Oberhausen Festival lives on its history and it has to make special appeals to its stars of today. It would have been best if someone had made Wenders promise a new short-film for Oberhausen.

But behind the nostalgia there was concealed urgent hopes for the future, which are already being realised by a whole series of efforts.

The Festival, full of tradition and an important event for the region, is being awakened from its slumbers. The first results of these efforts are a newly opened up film market, which should put future sponsors in the right mood.

But it is difficult in Oberhausen to leave well-worn tracks, to introduce essential structural changes and in this way to give sluggish officials a helping hand.

The head of the Film Festival, Karola Gramann, put her faith in the innovative powers of experimental films when she took up her job four years ago. The accent is now on videos.

No-one could claim to have seen the plethora of material shown, the 400 films and more than 100 videos drawn from international competitions, a West German contribution, retrospectives and various special programmes put together.

The young audiences today go to parallel events of the "Filmothek der Jugend," which is celebrating the 20th year of its existence and which has become the most important festival for films for young people in the Federal Republic.

But just round the corner in the aula of the gymnasium the old enthusiasm for the short-film rages.

The large gaps in the programme in the far too rambling, multi-purpose hall, the controversial venue for this international film festival, were filled with Polish and Russian contributions.

The Poles, who live in this country, were attracted into the cinema to hear their mother-tongue and out of political curiosity.

Nevertheless, the fear of contamination between Festival and public is in general considerable. More and more national critics are giving the Festival a miss.

The opening showed how an ideal short-film programme should appear.

Five carefully selected themes, paired with a variety of visual forms, were here fitted together to form an evening of epilogues, which were intended to show more than grim accusations and world-weariness.

Harry Rag, a film student from Berlin, called his film, made in Rheinhausen without workers and work, *Titanica*.

This powerful film documentary, dominated by dreams of machinery, puts the question: "Where are we?" And the answer is: "Here."

A piece of iron, glowing red, ignites the fire, which consumes itself. The titans have had their day — this is what this artistic industrial film has to say, paying homage to old film traditions, but giving them new accents.

The former enthusiasm for progress appears with the recognition of its darker side. Like a will-o'-the-wisp the Mercedes car star passes through the darkness, scarcely recognisable. The "here" reveals helplessness: this "here" must be re-discovered.

This was a film that provoked thought, not flag waving, which did not please many.

The documentary films by the East German documentary film-maker Roland Steiner about the poet Erich Fried, and the French documentary film-maker Bertrand Fevre about Chet Baker, came involuntarily into the epilogues.

The title of Steiner's film, *Die ganze Welt soll bleiben*, was borrowed from a line of Fried's poetry.

Fried, the unshakeable philanthropist, visits a neo-Nazi in prison. Fried, cranky do-it-yourselfer and collector, has never forgotten the bad times of expulsion from Germany and still burrows in the rubbish heap today.

Fried, the tireless voice of admonition, has never given up his work on recalling the past. Fried battling with his sickness — these images set in apposition to one another show, offside perhaps, the greatness of such a small man, who still makes poetry for the future in his study.

The second volume of his poems has only just appeared in East Germany and is selling like hot cakes.

There is the word and there is the music. *Chet's Romance* is the title of the video clip in cinemascope about Chet Baker's appearance in Paris. His world was music. He had nothing else to offer, as he said himself.

Fevre has unforgettably brought together, as in a short poem, the gentle



pastel-shaded tones of his trumpet-playing, his blues voice and his wrecked face.

The cinemascope format, in which *Titanica* was also filmed, speaks here with its own suggestive language, a language which can only be understood from the screen, which does not come across on the small screen.

The national programmes from Poland kept to this atmosphere. Irena Kamienska's *Dzienza dniem* (Day for day) is a portrait of twins from Kattowitz. It was awarded the main prize.

For 36 years the twins carried stones, unloaded building materials, real drudgery, but they knew nothing different.

Behind the rain-wet lorry windscreen, in the dirty-grey landscape, the women, thickly muffled up, seem like relics from a past age of reconstruction which they recall only fragmentarily.

The grey, hopeless daily routine has long ago driven away the worker songs,



No worker songs, just bricks. In the prize-winning *Dzienza dniem* (Day for Day) (Photo: Heinz Kersten)

even the names of the great party secretaries.

The encouraging slogans are to be seen at every corner, but no-one believes in them any more.

But alongside grim stock-taking from a waning socialist country there is still surrealist wit which heightens claimed memories of socialist surrealism.

Pomaranczowa alternatywa (The orange-coloured alternative) is a documentary made by Miroslaw Dembinski, a film student from the Lodz film academy, like so many of the young Polish film-makers represented at the Festival.

Dembinski was involved in the youth movement in Wroclaw of the same name. He has recorded how the first dwarfs appeared as graffiti, how they were brought to life and made the whole city anxious with happenings.

A huge "dwarf demonstrator" at carnival time chants "There is no freedom without dwarfs" and opposes the advancing police.

The fast video camera and the film survived, recording with uncontrolled vision not only the rebellious but also the comic side of the movement.

In high spirits this film shows hope, there where fantasy is pressing on those who hold power.

The two Russian documentary films, *Mikrofon* by G. Shkliarevskei, and *Velava is plytu* (The brick flag) by the Lithuanian Sergius Berzinis, are brave and controversial.

The investigations for *Mikrofon* about the consequences of Tchernobyl show that glasnost is only administered in small doses and how it is administered.

On the spot, directly along the board-ed dividing line of the contaminated zone, inhabitants were asked about their experiences and opinions.

Men and women, who were convinced that they had been forgotten or used as guinea-pigs, were interviewed. They believed this because the results of all investigations were withheld from them; they disappeared into the Moloch of Ukrainian bureaucracy and the geiger counters ticked everywhere.

They had to sign a commitment never to have children again, otherwise no-one would bother about them any more.

This was a paradoxical situation which films from Poland or the Soviet Union often reveal.

The cinematic investigation into a 1987 murder was still more daring. *Velava is plytu* reports on how a young recruit murdered eight Red Army soldiers.

The film carefully goes through reports on rape, torture and humiliation in the squad. It then turns to the reactions of, and comments by, relatives, comrades and the military responsible.

After reviewing all this the film makes the statement that this young soldier and murderer, who today is suffering from severe psychic disorders, could be regarded as the ninth victim.

There were few parallels to be drawn between East and West as regards involvement and posture. The selection committee said that in the Federal Republic and the United States there was a trend to apolitical films.

Nevertheless a handful of apocalyptic, experimental films warned about the decline of mankind. *Titanica* could be numbered among these films, as could *The Last Days of Contrition* by the Canadian Richard Kerr.

He made his film in the devastated regions of the American West, military trial areas, long forbidden to the public.

In an inflammatory picture-sound montage he builds up his black-and-white film into a scenario for decline in the simulation of total war, which denys any ability for remorse.

This film is a work of grief for the film-maker, a farewell to former high democratic ideals, which once made of America for him a country to be followed as an example.

Blindman's Ball by Dore O. uses the suggestive powers of colour, of the sounds of breaking mirrors, the habits of looking at each other between man and woman, which have become doubtful, and infectious music inspired by the tango. It is a fantasy after Marcel Duchamp, who invites viewers to amuse themselves once more with this work of magic.

The enjoyable part of this mammoth programme, too small by far, closed with a rare example of a film-maker's self-mockery.

Ulrich Sappok's *Der narrative Film* asks the question: "Why do we allow all this?" and then shows a conglomeration of television clips, from catastrophes in daily life and the political world.

Thinking out loud at the second viewing of his Super-8 compilation, Sappok said: "But if I peck at it once more tomorrow, I shall certainly not send it in."

He did send it in and was rewarded with a prize.

There was too little satire and humour in the long days of this Festival.

Marli Feldvoss

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 May 1989)

■ ADDICTIONS

Gorm Grimm's cough-drop cure for mainliners



March 15th was a day like any other. The news briefs in a leading Hamburg newspaper were lined up under a single-column narcotics heading.

A young man had been found dead in a youth hostel toilet, a mainliner at the end of the line, the city's 15th this year.

President Richard von Weizsäcker's wife Marianne, who is a keen anti-drugs campaigner, was reported as saying the narcotics problem was very much on the increase.

She, or anyone else, could have said so for years — and been absolutely right. But her comment had long ceased to have much news value.

Now is the time for saviours, for loners, for people with sure cures, for strategists who are not hidebound by dogma or dependent on traditional anti-narcotics institutions.

It is, for instance, the time for Gorm Grimm. He is a doctor in general practice near the main railway station in Kiel. He is 47, with close-cropped grey hair, short and wiry, non-committal but active in appearance.

His flattering voice and bright blue eyes beneath brows that are usually raised, conveying an impression of amusement, captivate everyone he talks with.

He has the seductive aura of an idealist. He is cordial as a family doctor and unshakably self-assured as a medic of the kind tagged in German as "demigods in white coats."

For 13 years Dr Grimm has treated heroin addicts with Remedacen, a cough preparation containing codeine that has much the same effect as Methadone but isn't classified as a narcotic.

He has used the patent cough medicine to help about 500 junkies stay clear of shared needles and the Aids risk — at least for a while.

Five hundred is a substantial number when you bear in mind that there are only about 4,000 clinic places for drug therapy patients in the entire country.

At present he has over 300 regular patients who take a heavy dose of Remedacen (70 capsules a day is far from unusual) to keep withdrawal symptoms at bay.

Many come the 100km (60 miles) from Hamburg, where a mere 40 addicts are able to take part in a Methadone programme that was started recently.

Unlike in Holland, Switzerland or the United States, for instance, the substitute drug is used only experimentally, on a strictly limited basis, in a number of *Länder*, or Federal states.

Dr Grimm feels Remedacen is the drug substitute to end all substitutes.

"That it helps is immaterial," the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit* wrote, tongue in cheek, in an article on the treatment.

Yet is it immaterial that 54 patients, as Dr Grimm claims, have stayed off drugs since his treatment and no longer even use what he calls his "cough drops," containing a drug he feels is harmless in every respect?

That is, after all, a 10-per-cent success rate. Several years ago a book of his was published with the title "The Solution to the Drug Problem." It was an ambitious title; he is still proud of his book.

The success rates of all other courses of treatment vary between one and, at the most, five per cent.

They usually entail withdrawal in hospital, followed by the patient staying totally "clean" and living with others in a group under psycho-social supervision for months on end.

Success rates cannot be compared over a period of years for any course of treatment, Dr Grimm's included, and he knows as well as anyone that setbacks are the rule.

Failure is even the rule, in Kiel and elsewhere, if staying "clean" and not even taking codeine capsules is the criterion.

Yet this is the point on which views differ. "Teetotallers" regard patients who take chemical substitutes as artificially pacified narcotics monsters who have not been confronted with the personal and social reasons for their addiction and then taught to lead a new life.

Many fellow-doctors and policymakers wonder how a single doctor, such as Gorm Grimm, can possibly hope to care for hundreds of patients, to supervise their drug- and substitute drug-taking habits, to rule out them selling them to others or, for that matter, to judge whether an addict is "clean"?

Many of these are questions the much-maligned Kiel medic dismisses as "concrete arguments" and proof of his opponents' "stupidity."

He claims to know his patients inside out. Few of them can fool him. He insists on taking urine samples for chemical analysis, which rules out drug abuse.

A jumbo dose of codeine doesn't do the patient any physical harm; it doesn't upset the balance of his mind or emotions either.

If patients of his who take Remedacen suffer from serious bouts of depression he prescribes other drugs or even refers them to a psychiatrist.

"Drug consumption isn't the illness," he says, "it's loss of control that is." He has no objections to chemicals, saying: "The human brain is a computer that works on a chemical basis."

It's that simple. Yet that isn't all the story. He feels we ought to make do with as few drugs as possible in life.

People can nonetheless be extremely high-powered and efficient despite a high intake of psychopharmaca. He cites the late Uwe Barschel, Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein (of which Kiel is the capital), as a case in point.

Callers, both the curious and the doubters, are shown freely round the premises. "I'll answer any question," he says.

He presents ex-addicts he has brought back to normal life, saying: "Do they look like drug monsters?"

Take Gerd, 31, an ex-electrical engineer and drug addict of 15 years' standing who has taken nothing but Dr Grimm's "cough drops" for the past six years.

He is still unemployed but doesn't slur his words and doesn't daydream, although he may sweat more profusely than others.

He lives in an apartment of his own, doesn't rob or steal for a living and doesn't go in for prostitution.

"Sooner or later," Gerd says, stressing the words, "I want to stop taking these capsules too." He has never tried therapy — "thank heavens!" he adds, laughing dismissively.

Gorm Grimm, the doctor in whom he trusts (and the author of a pamphlet about Christ, described as mentally ill), does not contradict him.

The doctor, a convinced liberal, never mentions his treatment as more than an addition to the range of other modes of treatment available.

Highly disputed methods... Grimm. (Photo: Jan Köh...)

Yet he seems almost to hate ... gists, psychologists and social w... feeling they have all failed yet w... mit it. He is delighted with Gerd... patient he can save from conv... therapy.

This profound dislike is mu... Hamburg neurologist who had refe... a patient to Grimm described him as ... biggest crook ever.

The Schleswig-Holstein Medic... sociation was upset too. It wa... have Dr Grimm struck from the ... because Remedacen, which is ... more expensive than Methadone ... not to be prescribed at the health... ance schemes' expense to treat p... who were drug addicts.

Dr Grimm appealed to a Kie... and won his case. The court qua... striking from the register and th... to refund the enormous cos... Remedacen he had prescribed.

In the glare of publicity he ... case on 18 March. He was pictu... the papers, a winning smile on his ... a gleam of hope in a context where ... is a scarce commodity.

He was vindicated as a man who ... challenged cumbersome bureauc...

Continued on page 13

The very old and the very young victims

Children and old people, those who are least able to fend for themselves, are often the victims of addiction, ignorance and unkindness.

An estimated two to three million German children suffer from the repercussions of parental alcohol abuse.

They range from physical maltreatment to sexual abuse and can cause severe behavioural upset.

Lack of human kindness can easily befall the aged too, leading to addiction to prescribed medicines and irreversible damage to the whole organism.

Babies battered by booze-soaked parents or old folk kept quiet by medication, both are readily, if uneasily, ignored by society as a whole, says Daytop, a Munich-based organisation that aims to combat addiction.

Social Welfare Minister Hermann Schnipkoweit of Lower Saxony estimates that about one family in 10 in his state faces a bleak future due to alcoholism.

A large proportion of cases of serious child abuse are attributed to Demon Drink — and an estimated 400,000 children a year are at the receiving end!

According to an article in the Munich magazine *drogen-report* between 60 and 70 per cent of female drug addicts were sexually abused in childhood.

Karin Schönig, a psychologist who works at a Munich refuge for girls, says more and more girls are seeking help and protection from violence and sexual abuse.

Warns Daytop's business manager Ulrich Johannes Osterhues: "Parents who use violence on children while under the influence of alcohol ought to see it as a final warning signal. They urgently need professional help."

Alcoholism and violence in the family must no longer be kept private — and practised behind closed doors.

"Unemployment, lack of prospects, crowded accommodation, marital conflicts and alcohol are a highly explosive mixture," he warns welfare policymakers. "It urgently needs defusing."

Old people, it would seem, are kept going by medicine rather than by human kindness.

"About one in five over-65s," says Ulrich Gresch of Daytop's research unit, "constantly takes tranquillisers and sedatives."

He bases this estimate on figures published by the health insurance schemes.

"Yet this widespread reliance of senior citizens on drugs goes unmentioned," he says. As in the case of cruelty to children, the number of cases that go unreported is enormous.

The older people are, the more th... tend to be prescribed tranquillisers, especially women.

Many drugs prescribed contain be... zodiazipines, which can become ha... forming. Neuroleptics, prescribed as ... alternative, may not, Gresch argu... addictive but have serious side-effe...

They can cause stiff muscles, up... in movements, oral convulsions and ... jitters.

When drugs of this kind are taken ... a period of years these side-effects ... permanent in about 25 per cent of ca...

The way in which doctors prescri... drugs tends to disregard the fact that ... need for medication is due to ... sical and mental, or emotional, factors.

"Older people in particular," Gresch says, "are frequently prescribed drug... when human kindness would do the... much more good."

In the context of health service co... cutting there can be no ignoring the fa... that over-65s account for nearly 45 p... cent of the overall cost yet make up ... 16 per cent of the population.

The pharmaceutical commissi... the German Medical Association is ... keen to see fewer drugs better and mo... purposefully prescribed.

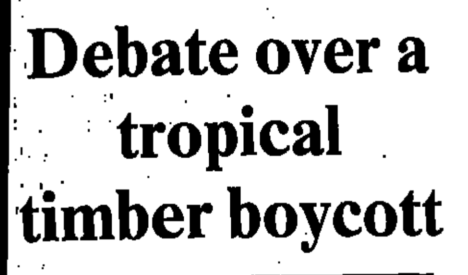
Last year 800 million items, 100 mi... lion more than in 1987, were pr... scribed, and this figure does not ... include hospital requirements and drug... sold over the counter.

Friedrich Lor...

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 20 April 198...)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Debate over a tropical timber boycott



Is a boycott of timber from tropical rain forests justified as proposed by German conservationists? Next year's One World For All project week even envisages denoting local authority areas as tropical wood-free zones.

Or does it not make sense because it does those who are directly affected much more harm than good?

The findings of a survey commissioned by the Federal Forestry and Timber Trade Research Establishment, Hamburg, from the Institute of World Forestry and Ecology differ substantially from what many boycott supporters envisage.

The Hamburg forestry experts feel the consequences of a tropical timber boycott would for one be that less timber would be felled commercially, accompanied by a decline in commercial acreage and in private earnings and government revenue.

High-grade timber would be sold at rock-bottom prices as profits plummeted.

Less land would become available for clearance and cultivation, with the result that migrants would start to burn and cultivate areas of unspoilt jungle.

More timber, including high-grade export qualities, would be burnt to the ground in this way than on land previously used for this purpose.

Less and less economic benefit would be derived from the acreage annually deforested. The current account of tropical timber-exporting countries would grow increasingly imbalanced, with foreign exchange scarcer and debt funding more difficult.

Jobs would be lost in the timber trade, with the unemployed either drifting into urban slums or reverting to traditional migrant farming, imposing a burden on the environment, the economy and the social conscience.

A further consequence would be that most unemployed timber workers would burn clearings and grow food in unspoilt jungle, leading to more clashes with Indian tribes.

Destruction of the tropical rain forest would increase on balance and in the long term. There would be more serious damage to the biosphere, swifter climate change and even greater pressure from poverty in the tropical rain forest belt.

The Hamburg survey makes the consequences of earlier and larger-scale global damage to the environment clear.

Tropical deforestation is estimated to account for between 10 and 20 per cent of manmade changes that contribute toward changes in the Earth's atmosphere.

Clearances of the tropical rain forest are said to take a toll of timber worth between DM200bn and DM400bn a year.

In 1987 forest clearances by fire released 500 million tons of carbon dioxide, making ozone and climate problems more serious.

In this part of the world mean temperatures have already increased by up to four degrees centigrade and the soil's humus layer has been burnt to a depth of up to 20cm, causing the death of countless organisms and swift erosion.

Latest reports from Brazil indicate that only four per cent of the coastal rain forest is still intact.

Yet what can the Federal Republic of Germany do, especially after the Quito Declaration by the eight Amazon Basin states?

What attitude is to be adopted toward major timber exporting-countries in South-East Asia? Fine words apart, Bonn still seems undecided, much though the tropical rain forest may preoccupy all manner of authorities.

Options discussed in Germany are, says the Institute of World Forestry and Ecology, higher prices for tropical timber, certificates of origin and limits to the uses to which tropical timber may be put.

Higher prices are said to be justifiable, but they must be varied. Certificates of origin are virtually impossible to check, especially as bogus markings are readily come by in the country of origin.

A boycott of tropical timber will not, it is argued, solve the long-term problems. Above all, it will not strike at the roots of tropical rain forest destruction.

"The Federal Republic is called upon to act in advance of what seems likely to be an ecological and social catastrophe," the Hamburg experts warn. "Yet there is a shortage of soundly-based knowledge and adequate know-how."

There is also, to a dangerous degree, a lack of understanding for the situation in and problems of the tropics.

Werner Koep

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 30 April 1989)

Cutback on sport part of plan to protect Alps

An international convention is being drawn up to protect the Alps, the largest single tourist area in the world.

The Alps share with the highly-endangered North Sea mudflats the distinction of being the last large-scale eco-system in Europe.

Guidelines for the proposed Alpine convention have just been issued by the national committee of the International Alpine Protection Commission (Cipra) in Munich.

They will be discussed by an Alpine conference to be hosted in mid-October in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Bavaria, by Bonn Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer.

The 27-page document, which will be finalised by Cipra shortly before the Garmisch conference is held, is the result of a poll of 170 government agencies, associations and experts on the balance-sheet of environmental policy in the Alpine region and of final consultations in Liechtenstein.

Cipra president Walter Danz, co-president (with Fritz März of the German Alpine Association) of the national committee, stresses that the proposals are a compromise and do not just catalogue conservationists' demands.

"Otherwise," he says, "we would never get France and Italy to agree to them."

Even so, the Alpine countries, whose governments and parliaments are now to review the recommendations, are expected to undertake a number of strict fundamental commitments and measures to protect and ecologically safeguard the region.

It is an extensive area where millions of people live and work. It provides millions with rest and recreation facilities, not to mention water, hydroelectric power and a transit corridor.

Regional planning targets presuppose substantial international efforts at all political levels: "Alpine areas hardest hit by depopulation must benefit from environment-friendly economic development, while areas already densely populated and overburdened must be pollution-controlled."

The catalogue of proposals includes checking all moves for environmental suitability, drawing up danger zone plans along Austrian lines as a basis for construction, transport and tourist development planning, and a comprehensive network of conservation zones where Alpine farmers are paid compensation for both conserving land and allowing it to lie fallow.

Speed limits are proposed throughout the Alps, with through traffic being either transferred from road to rail or only pollution-controlled vehicles being allowed, to conserve the Alpine forest, 80 per cent of which is already damaged, and the various functions it performs.

An independent survey is to be commissioned to draw up a comprehensive transport concept for the Alpine region.

Technical development is to be banned in the largest possible areas, with limits being imposed on modern leisure activities such as golf, hang-gliding, flying model aircraft, surfing and mountain biking.

Heliskiing and ultralightweight flying are to be banned entirely. Large-scale winter sports events are only to be held where facilities already exist. No more glaciers are to be opened up.

Geographer Danz, founder of the German Alpine Institute, says he hopes the Alpine convention will be ratified by 1992 by the seven countries concerned.

That should at least have some legal effect on extra burdens that are likely to affect the region in the wake of the single European market.

Cipra, as the only relevant non-governmental organisation represented in all seven Alpine countries, is to offer to collaborate in setting up an Alpine research, information and documentation centre.

Sepp Fallensteller

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 April 1989)

Continued from page 12

and won. Yet newspapers continue to carry news items, some beneath banner headlines, that demonstrate how all-powerful narcotics are — and how powerless the law enforcement agencies and professional helpers.

More and more offenders go uncaught. More and more victims cannot be saved. Allegedly civilised societies generate a growing addiction potential and risk being undermined by criminal dealers and internationally organised narcotics syndicates.

No substitute drugs can help in cases such as these.

Peter Saalbach

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 April 1989)

■ MINORITIES

A paralysed city waited for neo-Nazi hordes to invade — and waited

"Let the little children come unto me." This touch of piety decorates the entrance to a school in the Hamburg suburb of Wilhelmsburg. But on 20 April, most of the little children didn't go unto anyone: 305 on the school roll of 350 stayed at home.

It was much the same at schools and kindergartens in those other parts of Hamburg with heavy concentrations of foreigners — most of them Turkish. The occasion was the anniversary of Hitler's 100th birthday. And rattling their sabres at the city gates were battalions of skinheads andother right-ring radicals.

A flower seller says: "It was eerie." The Wilhelmsburg streets were dead. Turkish shops were barricaded and pubs closed. Few Turks dared to leave their homes. The neo-Nazis and the skinheads were on the way.

Peter Kelch, a spokesman for Hamburg's interior authority, said: "A hysteria gripped the entire city." He said some of the Press had made the most out of it.

Hamburger Morgenpost announced well in advance that on the "Führer's birthday... neo-Nazis plan terror." And *Bild* proclaimed, as only *Bild* can do: "Fear in Hamburg."

The on the day, 20 April, nothing happened. Nothing. There was not a right-wing radical to be seen, at least not in the suburbs considered to be most at risk. Now the experts, the police, educationists and politicians, are asking how it all happened.

Reference was made to a painting by a Hamburg artist, the late A Paul Weber. His *The Rumour* illustrates graphically the way rumour takes hold. It shows a worm with a thousand eyes and many tongues creeping through the streets. On this occasion, Weber's worm probably slid through the streets of Veddel, a suburb with a population of 4,319 — and 2,109, or 48.8 per cent of them foreign.

Here, it was being whispered in the early days of April that, on the 20th, skinheads would take revenge for a supposed attack by young Turks on skinheads at the Hauptbahnhof. It is an area where people live almost literally within calling distance of each other and the rumour spread like wildfire.

Early on the morning of 12 April, a smearsheet appeared on the window of a Turkish greengrocery. Written in appalling German, it urged Germans to awake and do their duty. It warned Turks that "the 100th birthday of Adolf Hitler will be a second *Kristahlnacht* (sic)." The greengrocer immediately shut up shop, went home and covered the name strip on his door with a German name.

The sheet began appearing in other parts of the city where it was intended to be plastered on the windows of other greengrocers.

According to a pupil at the school in Veddel just round the corner from the greengrocery shop, someone had taken the sheet to the school, photocopied it and had given it to children to take with them. Headmaster Peter Krause challenges this.

Whatever the truth of the rumour's origins, parents and teachers reacted with panic. The panic was fanned by threatening telephone calls. A few days later, the *Hamburger Abendblatt* ran a report about the sheet and its upshot. Two days after that, the Turkish daily, *Hürriyet*, ran a long article. Suddenly, the rumour had a basis of certainty. The following week, the tabloid press played the issue up and exaggerated the level of rumour. Involved here was a Turkish reporter who worked both for *Bild* and a Turkish newspaper, *Günaydin*. The effects were quickly apparent: the telephones ran hot as parents sought advice from police, government departments and schools. The rumour mill was now working at full tilt. It had 4,000 English hooligans coming across on the Channel ferry to back up 3,000 neo-Nazis and move in on Wilhelmsburg and Veddel; skinheads had beheaded a Turkish youth in Harburg; two women had been raped in Billstedt.



Morgenpost commented about the situation it had without doubt itself contributed to: "Most of Hamburg is holding its breath over the birthday of Adolf Hitler tomorrow."

Tomorrow came. Turkish workers stayed away from work, ill. Their employers for the most part were sympathetic. Turkish fathers took their children to classes or let them stay at home. Police patrolled schools. Hamburg's mayor, Henning Voscherau appealed for everyone to stay calm; interior senator Werner Hackmann warned against hysteria: and police spokesman Berndt Metterhausen was calming: there was no evidence at all that right-wing extremists were going on the rampage.

But the reassurances were too late. The damage had been done. Rosemarie Raab, the education senator, visited Wilhelmsburg schools on the day in an effort to calm parents and children. But that didn't help much. But she was able to see enough to comment: "Xenophobia is more extensive than we thought."

Bendix Klingeberg is the head of an organisation that has had many years of experience dealing with foreigners and associated problems: "If we had had proper information, we could have slowed the entire hysteria process down. It was painful to see the way the teachers panicked." There was no doubt that the level-headed were in a minority.

He said that attitude should have been: "We are not going to allow ourselves to be intimidated because of one or two racist threats." His organisation, a citizen's initiative, had urged in one of its pamphlets, which are published in both Turkish and German: "Schools open, youth centres open, shops open! We're not allowing ourselves to be hounded. Don't give fear and terror a chance!"

The head teacher at one school where 70 per cent of the pupils are foreign described the situation as reminding her of "the hysteria of war." Who could keep a cool head? She said the children believed what was in the newspapers.

Many teachers believed it themselves, even in areas which were not, according to the rumours, threatened. The head at one school sent a letter in both Turkish and German to parents saying that it was up to them whether they sent their children to school or not.

But the young Turkish girl who was able to show the way to the hom[e] Veddel greengrocer upon who[se] window the reputed first leaflet [...] ed had no fear of Nazi terror. "W[e] the VTB." She meant the *Veddel[...] enboys*, one of the groups again[st] the revenge was supposed to be [...] against. They had armed themsel[ves with] knives and clubs in expectation [of the] worst. In Wilhelmsburg, 40 [...] youths were arrested.

The greengrocer himself, who [...] the business for 25 years, doesn't talk about April 20 and its [...] events any more. He is taking [a] wider view. He has for a long [...] garded the situation in Germany [...] turbing: the election victories of the [...] wing Republicans, the debate on [...] tide of foreigners arriving, the [...] for work ("first come the Germans"), the latent dislike of foreigners [...] him and his compatriots afraid.

Many feel unprotected; *bru[...]* on foreigners are becoming m[...] mon. Fear, both real and i[...] thrives in this sort of situati[on] types of fear leave Turks pro[...] psycho terror of the right-wing ra[...]

Yet despite this, there are Ger[...] who have little sympathy for the [...] Turks. A snatch of conversation [...] Veddel bar: "No one's is out [...] them. Maybe one or two nut ca[ses] you get them everywhere. [...] harmless."

Professor Hakki Keskin is a [...] of an organisation of Turkish [...] He says: "Neo-Nazis have been [...] being encouraged to attack forei[gners by] the policy of the Bonn governme[nt]"

In Veddel and Wilhelmsburg [...] children are back at school. At [...] trance of the school with the q[...] Mark 10:14, two Turkish boys pl[...] said: "We're not afraid of the sk[...] much self-confidence, at *least, ha[s in the]* meantime been instilled *by the teac[hers]*

Bartholomäus G[...]

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 28 April [...])

Immigration and asylum:some clearer ideas are needed

Breaths were collectively let out when nothing happened on 20 April, the day the neo-Nazis were meant to have invaded parts of Hamburg.

But was the fear without foundation? Out of fear of right-wing radical threats to celebrate Adolf Hitler's 100th birthday, Turks in Hamburg shuttered up their shops and kept their children home from school.

Forty years after basic rights for political asylum were laid down and three decades after the first *Gastarbeiter* arrived, the wind in many parts of Germany is blowing colder for foreigners.

Warmer sounds from Bonn would permit some optimism. But the thoroughly reasonable proposals of the CDU/CSU-FDP work group doesn't give any grounds for hope.

There is certainly talk about making it easier to become a German citizen, of more liberal laws on allowing family members to come and join their families here, and of the option for those who want to to return home with cash settlement. But barely was the ink on the paper dry than the Bavarian interior minister, Edmund Stoiber (CSU) bluntly announced that this was not by a long shot the final word on the issue.

The sheer number of people involved will ensure that the theme will not go to sleep in the coming months. It is estimated that 500,000 people will enter Germany this year with the intention of staying: that includes people from the Third World, people from East Germany and also other parts of the east Bloc, many of whom have German ancestry.

It is becoming a matter of necessity that not only the churches and other interested groups but also the politicians come up with some composed, but even more important, candid words on the matter. No one expects patent cures.

The issue cane be divided into three parts: *Ausländer* (foreigners); *Aussiedler* (people with German ancestry from the East Bloc); and *Asylanten* (applicants for political asylum).

Ausländer: there is no escaping the fact that, since the 1970s, Germany has become an immigrant state. Any politician with insight must work on that basis. That means that priority in the future cannot be given to putting limits on foreign workers and their families (something that was written between the lines of the coalition compromise) but to make their integration into German society easier.

There are no radio or television programmes designed to help Turks learn German as a by product as they watch; Turkish children rarely receive lessons in the Islamic religion and on their homeland. And the authorities refu[se to] be generous and offer foreigners do[uble] citizenship.

But steps such as these would h[elp] create a greater feeling of securi[ty] especially older, immigrants in a[n] environment. They would be Ge[rman] without being required at the sam[e time] to blow up the bridges that lin[k them] with their homeland.

Aussiedler: it is just as valid [...] some direct talk. Anyone who [does] want to alter the wide-rangi[ng] "German," in Basic Law, the Co[nstitu]tion, must accept that the conse[quence] is that money must be made avail[able so] that these people can be integ[rated] the state decides to save cash [...] where it hands it out to others, [...] ill-feeling will be the result.

Asylanten: this part has run into [a] dead-end street. The relevant basic [...] was not drawn up with the present [...] situation in mind — above all not for [the] sheer numbers arriving.

This flood of applicants is not be[cause] the asylum-recognition procedures [...] become more liberal, but because [of the] changing nature of the world. It used [...] individuals or small groups who [...] asylum from political persecution [...] millions are fleeing from terror, [...] poverty and environmental cat[...] That is having wide-ranging conse[quences] for asylum rights.

Whoever wants to find feasib[le politi]cal solutions cannot be moved [by...] and agitation. And he must stick [to] legal fundamentals. *Martin [...]*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 28 April [...])

■ HORIZONS

The search for new conceptions as Europe heads towards the 21st century

"The American century is coming to an end and Marxism-Leninism has had its day as an ideology and as a principle for power," predicted Georg Gölter, Education Minister in Rhineland-Palatinate and president of the Education Ministers Conference.

Addressing delegates in Paderborn at a meeting of the German Universities Association, he asked what would fill the vacuum. The answer was of prime importance to Europeans on the way to European integration.

Herr Gölter would like to see Europe as something more than just the economic association which British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has in mind.

He would also not be satisfied with a "Europe of Fatherlands," which Charles de Gaulle strove for by safeguarding national and cultural identity.

He appealed rather for a European federal state to which individual member-states would transfer a great part of their sovereignty.

This federal state would demonstrate its cohesive strength and force with a single defence and foreign policy, a uniform currency and unity in economic, social and environmental protection policies in their essential features.

But the education ministers from the German *Länder* agreed on one point: cultural policies should not be standardised.



The university, one of the most imporant representatives of cultural life, is the sole establishment which is delighted with the idea of Europe without any reservation or fears.

Science is not bound by frontiers, not just in Europe. But is science suitable to cater for the cultural identity of European constituent states?

The theme of the annual conference of the West German Universities Association, including at least 13,000 professors, was "The German University in the European Education System."

Hartmut Schiedermair, president of the Association and an expert on international law from Cologne, conjured up a picture of "unity in diversity."

It is obvious that European universities, since their beginnings 900 years ago, have just as strongly moulded the whole of European culture with a single language (Latin), a single method of disputation and to a considerable extent with unified subjects as the Church.

Neither the Reformation nor regionalisation into small states were able to reduce to any extent the international nature of the great universities of the 16th century. Truth is not narrow-minded and the search for truth should also not be so.

Dr Hinske, a philosopher from Triers, could not see what the university could do for the moulding and defence of national or regional cultural identity.

He said that the nature of science was such that it disregarded the limits of cultural small-state-mindedness, even if this has not been so obvious in recent times as it was in the Middle Ages.

Gölter replied by saying that cultural characteristics began with language.

He cited the example of Alsace, to show that a region's character was taken away if the language spoken there was not respected. Schiedmair added the example of South Tyrol.

Both warned that people could not be won over to the European idea if they feared that their cultural originality would be threatened.

The Federal Republic's federal system is regarded as a convincing system, but the centrally-governed states, which now see German federalism as a stumbling-block, would most emphatically insist on their federal sovereignty if the European idea becames a serious matter.

The knowledge of several foreign languages is the most important quality a self-assured and open-minded European can possess.

Gölter and the two other speakers in Paderborn were agreed on this, Signor Ferraris, former Italian ambassador in Bonn, and Herr Wägenbaur, head of the European Commission's legal department in Brussels, along with the delegates attending the conference.

Signor Ferraris said that English was no longer a foreign language in West Germany but the second language. But he tempered his words of praise with the criticism that other lanugages suffered for this.

Gölter emphasised that the "smaller languages" were deserving of more respect. The general view was that the European ought to understand at least three or four languages and speak two of them fluently.

It was the responsibilities of the schools, not the universities, to equip young people with these linguistic abilities. The gymnasium must become much more a language school.

The view was that the universities were responsible for offering courses specially related to foreign languages. Wägenbaur proposed that this should be made obligatory.

Anyone who speaks a foreign language would rather study or do research abroad and be enthusiastic about integrated courses of study.

Turning to the welcoming speech made by his colleague Anke Brunn, Science and Research Minister in North Rhine-Westphalia, Gölter promised the universities "the unconditional agreement and support" of education ministers for such integrated courses of study, in which students from various countries studied and did research together.

Gölter called for more liberality, more trust in assessing studies completed abroad. Petty-mindedness did not get us very far, he said

Students who went abroad to study were usually better than the others, and the better a student was the more he had the right to expect that what he had done should not be looked at in a petty manner. Unfortunately the petty-minded are at present in the majority. Ferraris warned that their influence could only be repelled if universities did not develop into technical colleges whose sole criteria was the material aim of career training.

Because it is most important that people learn to think (training through science) it is only of subordinate importance what they are taught so long as standards are maintained.

The European Community's research programme has become more and more important. In September last year the Council approved DM11bn within the context of the "Research and technical development from 1987 to 1991" programme. In 1992 the EC will provide DM4.2bn for research.

Gölter regretted that only DM50m had been allocated to West German universities from EC sources. This is the case not only because of a lack of interest but also because of red-tape.

The universities are asking if such barriers could not be more easily overcome if Europe was built up from below instead of from the top.

There has been much success where partner universities have themselves organised exchanges of students and academics. But Wägenbaur warned about deluding ourselves that we could do without regulation from above. One thing had to follow on from another.

There was scant enthusiasm for the proposal of selecting leading universities for individual themes to rationalise cooperation. In fact, it was thought it would be better if individual universities were left to set their own example. The ideal would be an internationally-staffed faculty with an international student body.

Dr Hinske joked that instead of setting quotas for the number of women students it would be more effective if a European quota were introduced.

Are hopes exaggerated that with the opening up of the Europe market competition will be stimulated? West German universities are not so bad that they cannot be compared with those elsewhere.

Anyway the University of Oldenburg will be competing less with the universities in Oxford and Paris than with Munich or Bonn.

Oldenburg, in fact, is a good example of the fact that a university has a right to exist if it serves the region and emerges from the region's needs. Is that provincial identity?

Wägenbaur asked if in future young people would not prefer to study where it was best for them, the cheapest and the courses the fastest? The answers were most interesting.

German professors question that graduates from our universities will succumb to competition because they are older. The professors took the view that this disadvantage would be balanced out by their better education.

Wägenbaur said that it could be that many German graduates were better educated at the beginning, but his experience in Brussels with lawyers had taught him that this lead was lost after two or three years in working professionally.

The advantages younger graduates had were lasting. The education ministers in the *Länder* are therefore calling for a shortening of study courses at West German universities. But so far the universities have not allowed themselves to be hurried into anything.

Short, good and European? That would not be a bad slogan. It is open to question whether it is logical, for more time must be granted for looking beyond national concerns.

Kurt Reumann

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 May 1989)

Karajan

Continued from page 10

cians would do this instantly. The Viennese would begin by asking why and that they had placed their feet in the way they were since Gustav Mahler. It is not a matter of feet for me, but of discipline."

Crises were built into the situation when the Prussian-like, obedient Berliners began to protest from time to time.

Seven years ago there was dispute about a woman clarinettist and since then there has been more than one dispute in the Philharmonie, the concert hall, built in 1963 for the Berlin Philharmonic.

His resignation, which has taken Berlin's Senator for the Arts by surprise, was not accidental. Karajan was offended. It has been said that his resignation was an act of revenge.

It is true that at 81 he suffers from bad health. He has had to undergo a number of serious operations. But his iron will has overcome every physical affliction.

He will remain to conduct the Berlin Philharmonic on tour, shortly at the Lucerne Festival.

He has given the authorities in Berlin something of an headache, for there is no successor in sight. Like Furtwängler before him he has not allowed anyone to become crown prince.

Top musicians have long-term contractual commitments, but the orchestra will make suggestions to a Senate meeting.

Karajan has had four "marriages," with Elmy Holgerloef in 1938, Anita Güter in 1942 and Eliette in 1958, and with the Berlin Philharmonic, a union which has been the stormiest of all.

With the orchestra he has not been able to live up to the attestation "until death us do part." *Fritz Schleicher*

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 26 April 1989)

Anne-Sophie Mutter

Continued from page 10

parents, in Frau Mutter's case her father, who handle most of the business arrangements of their successful children.

Fees are the music world's best kept secret. It can so happen that a singer such as Luciano Pavarotti can negotiate a contract for $100,000 per evening in the Madison Square Garden.

Normally, however, the highest fee paid at the Met is $10,000 per evening. In Europe, on the quiet, it can be twice as much.

Nevertheless major singers and soloists are happy with only a fraction of these fantastic sums. One can count instrumentalists who are top earners on one hand.

The manager can play a vital role here. Sheldon said: "A good manager provides his artist with subsidiary earnings as teacher or as a member of a small orchestra."

There are top-class artists, who do not want to be major earners in the wearing concert business. Frau Mutter has reduced her annual workload from 120 concerts to 80 last year.

Her next North America tour has already been worked out to the smallest detail. Then there should be a break.

Sheldon explained: "She will take a sabbatical in 1991. There are more things in life than playing the violin." He added smiling: "Anyway Anne-Sophie has a husband." *Hella Boschmann*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 28 April 1989)